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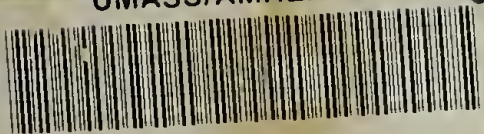
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'GOD-GIVEN WORK: THE LIFE AND TIMES
OF
SCULPTOR META VAUX WARRICK FULLER, 1877-1968

A Dissertation Presented

By

JUDITH NINA KERR

Submitted to the Graduate School of the
University of Massachusetts in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

September 1986

Department of History

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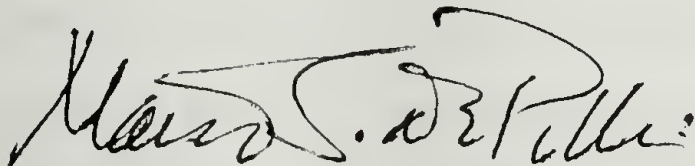
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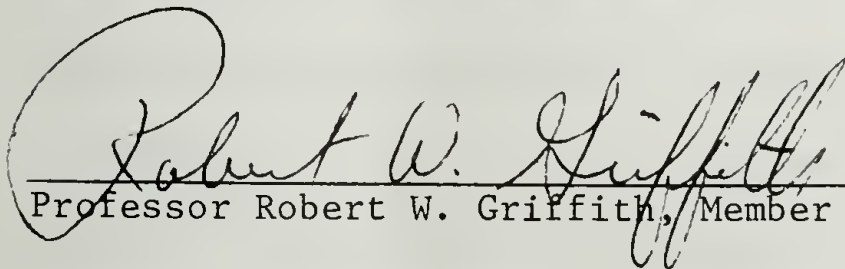
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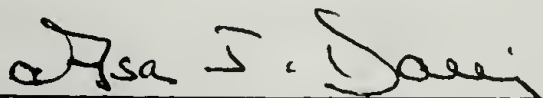
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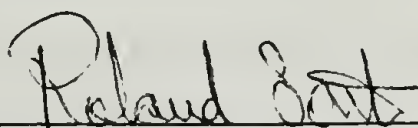
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A number of archives and libraries were of assistance. But I owe special gratitude to the reference staff of the University of Massachusetts Library which labored to unearth the most obscure information on my behalf. Mrs. Katherine Emerson, former University of Massachusetts Archivist, made Fuller letters in the W.E.B. Du Bois Papers available to me before the collection was opened officially to the public. Henry Williams shepherded me through the raw data of the University of Pennsylvania Social History Project. Esme Bahn of the Moorland-Spingarn Research Center sent me photocopies of the Fuller correspondence in the Freeman H.M. Murray Papers; while Eileen Carew, formerly with Framingham's Danforth Museum, contributed the invaluable gift of Esther Popel Shaw's letters to Meta Fuller.

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Last but not least, for their love, support, and patience, I dedicate this biography to my parents, Oliver Wendell Kerr, Sr. and Frances Mills Kerr.

ABSTRACT

God-Given Work: The Life and Times of
Sculptor Meta Vaux Warrick Fuller, 1877-1968

September, 1986

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Directed by: Professors Stephen B. Oates and Mario S. DePillis

Born in Philadelphia on June 9, 1877, Meta Warrick Fuller was one of America's first studio sculptors of African descent. She was one of those persons of ability and genius whom, according to W.E.B. Du Bois, "the accidents of education and opportunity have raised on the tidal wave of chance."* Fuller was born into a black elite family in a city whose black community was socially and intellectually active. She was among the fortunate few selected from the Philadelphia public schools to attend J. Liberty Tadd's art school. From 1895 to 1899, she studied at the Pennsylvania Museum School of the Industrial Arts, where her gift for sculpture emerged. Unwilling to limit herself to traditionally "feminine" themes, she occasionally adopted the gruesome imagery of fin de siecle Symbolist literature and painting--a choice that represented a rare act of independence on the part of a woman artist.

Fuller's work grew stronger in Paris, where she studied from 1899 to 1902. Influenced by the conceptual realism of Auguste Rodin, she

*Crisis, XXXII, 6(October, 1926), 246.

became so adept at depicting sensitively the spirituality of human suffering that the French press named her "the delicate sculptor of horrors." In 1902, Fuller became the protégé of Rodin. Samuel Bing, patron of such innovators as Aubrey Beardsley, Mary Cassatt, and Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec, also recognized her abilities by sponsoring a one-woman exhibition at L'Art Nouveau Bing in 1902.

An artist whose career spanned over seventy years, Fuller was versatile and productive. A woman of deep religious faith who believed her artistic gifts to be God-given, she created at least one piece of religious art a year in thanks. At various times, she was a literary sculptor, at others a creator of portrait art (which she studied under Charles Grafley at the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts). Although she declared that she could not specialize in African-American types, Fuller became one of the most effective chroniclers of the black experience within the context of the American experience.

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Frontispiece: Meta Vaux Warrick Fuller

C H A P T E R I

A WORLD OF PROMISES AND DREAMS

In the summer of 1901, Meta Warrick made a pilgrimage that would remain a precious memory. From her studio in Paris, she went to Meudon, a southwestern suburb of the city, to meet the man acclaimed "the Michaelangelo of his age"--Auguste Rodin.¹

Carrying a small clay model and photographs of her work, this petite, olive-skinned woman made her way up the steep Rue de la Vigne, a dirty street with poor-looking houses. In her brisk steps was uncontrollable excitement at meeting one she so greatly admired. But Meta felt apprehensive too. After years of struggle as an aspiring art student in a city filled with hopeful students of the Arts, she had come for the master sculptor's judgement of her talent. She had come for justification of her struggle.

Finally, Meta arrived at the Villa des Brilliants. Behind the roadside gate was a long avenue lined with chestnut trees and strewn with coarse gravel. Passing through two little, wooden trellis-gates, she reached Rodin's petit chateau Louis XIII, a red brick house with yellowish windows. Meta stood for a moment to admire the intricately molded brass door knocker, and, perhaps to recover her composure. Alas, not entirely successful, she took the knocker in hand. A woman in her late fifties appeared at the door. Rose Bueret, whom Meta addressed as "Madam Rodin," had been the artist's companion for many

years. The kindly Rose greeted Meta warmly: yes, Meta was expected and she could find the artist in the garden.²

Meta found the sculptor sitting on a bench under his favorite tree and smoking. Her first impression was that Rodin seemed a "kindly old man." Nonetheless, this first impression did not assuage her insecurity. After a brief exchange of greetings, she handed Rodin her portfolio.³

As she stood watching the photographs pass one after another through his hands, Meta no doubt began to see in Rodin the traits well-known to his friends. Even at age sixty-one Auguste Rodin was an imposing figure who exhibited in himself the same vitality readily seen in his masterpieces. His torso was thick like the ancient trees now sheltering him from the mid-day sun. Although his face was submerged in a heavy beard, one could see a nose that was inquisitive; blue eyes that were positive and yet naive; and a brow that was powerful. Then in the anxiety of endless seconds, Meta became aware of something in Rodin's manner. His expression, she feared, was disapproving. Meta would recall that although she was twenty-four years old, she suddenly "felt like a schoolgirl." After all, her "experiences were like a schoolgirl's," and people had always treated her "as just a schoolgirl." Their opinion was convincing enough that Meta had always felt much younger than her real age.⁴

Without a word, Rodin handed back the photographs. Feeling disheartened, Meta prepared to go. But she had forgotten to show him the clay sketch that she called The Secret Sorrow. Timidly, she held it out, hoping that this last imposition would not try the sculptor's

patience. Would he reject this also? Meta seemed to feel herself the subject of the allegory she had chosen for the piece--the personification of lost ambition, disappointment, despair, and, finally, acceptance of failure. As Rodin scrutinized the figure, Meta surely was reminded of those words by Stephen Crane that had inspired The Secret Sorrow:

In the Desert
I saw a creature naked, bestial
Who squatted upon the ground
Held his heart in his hands
And ate of it.

I said, "Is it good, friend?"
"It is bitter--bitter," he answered:
"But I like it
Because it is bitter
And because it is my heart."⁵

She had been so moved when she read these lines late one evening, that she fell asleep memorizing them, only to awaken a few hours later with a compelling urge to recreate their symbolism in clay.⁶

Now she watched Rodin turn her little man mechanically this way and that, as though to see it from every possible angle. He ran his fingers over its back muscles with a sensitivity which belied the size of his hands. As he did so, Rodin's eyes gradually widened, as they always did when something fascinated him. Then with a smile, he rose and came over to where Meta stood. "Mon enfant," he said, laying a gentle hand on her shoulder, "vous êtes un sculpteur né, vous avez le sens de la forme!"⁷

You are a sculptor; you have the sense of form! These words would acquire a significance that neither participant in the interview could have imagined. The moment was extraordinary, for Meta was a black

woman sculptor at a time when the "Custodians of Culture" believed the female artist inferior and the female sculptor an oddity, and when the black artist was burdened with proving the civility of an entire race.⁸

Yet on that summer day, Rodin's affirmation was one that Meta could consider entirely personal. She would always think of that day with great sentimentality. As she left the Villa des Brilliants, she could not help stealing a glance over her shoulder. Rodin was sitting on the bench where she had first found him, smoking and looking at the ground in contemplation. "My heart went out to him," she recalled, "and with clenched fists, I determined to fulfill the fair promise he had bespoken for me."⁹

2

The traits that enabled Meta Warrick to reach this turning point in her career were apparent early in her life. She was endowed not only with an unfettered imagination and an enormous artistic talent, but with a stubborn persistence and a determination to excel. These characteristics were nurtured in a large, industrious, and unified black family in which both the men and women provided strong role models.

Born on June 9, 1877, Meta was the daughter of Philadelphia tradespeople. Her father, William H. Warrick, Jr., was a barber and her mother, Emma Jones Warrick, was a ladies' hair-dresser and wig-maker.

William Warrick had come to Philadelphia from Virginia as a young man. The Virginia Warricks were a most unusual family: since the time

Warrick's grandfather had arrived in America, no Warrick had ever been a slave. Warrick's great-grandfather was a member of the English nobility, an Episcopal priest named William Warwick. He had sent his three sons to America to make their own fortunes. The Warwick brothers landed in Virginia and settled in the Portsmouth area, where the eldest, William Warwick, Jr., fell in love with and married a free woman of African ancestry named Anna. When the news of their marriage reached the family in England, William's father became so enraged that he severed connections with his son and demanded that the couple change the spelling of their surname. It was their eldest son, William Henry Warrick, who would decide to uproot his family and leave Virginia in 1858.¹⁰

William Henry Warrick had spent much of his early adult life as a merchant seaman. Located at the mouth of the Chesapeake Bay, Portsmouth and its twin city Norfolk once had been important Tidewater ports. They had attracted small vessels from the hinterland, as well as larger cargo vessels from the Carolina coast. Thanks to nearly continuous economic growth, the 1850s were years of prosperity in the South. The increasing demand for labor made jobs easy to get and wages high for both white and free black workers. Norfolk and Portsmouth, however, did not share in the general prosperity. The development of rival canal and railroad interests helped to deprive Norfolk and Portsmouth of their inland trade. Meanwhile, the growth of the ports of New York and Baltimore syphoned off their European commerce and reduced them to minor stops for the coastal trade. As a result, the economy of the area stagnated. Economic depression led to heightened competition between white and

black workers, a battle which white workmen ultimately won. They began replacing free black workers in most of the skilled trades, including those like barbering which were heretofore black monopolies. Thus Warrick and his wife Louisa, who by 1854 had eight children, found it increasingly difficult to support their family on a seaman's pay. As an educated person, Warrick turned to the ministry, but it is doubtful that he ever had his own church.¹¹

During the 1850's the defense of slavery, the foundation of the southern economic system and entire social order, became increasingly dogmatic. No group was more militant in its defense than the Virginia theorists. According to Edmund Ruffin, "if there is any existing institution of divine origin, and manifestly designed and used by the all wise and all good creator to forward his beneficent purposes, slavery and especially African domestic slavery, is such an institution." To pro-slavery apologists, the existence of free blacks within a slave society was a contradiction; but the existence of educated black people who prospered--every became wealthy--as freemen was subversive. If free blacks "be qualified for liberty," reasoned George Fitzhugh, then "so are our slaves and we are acting morally wrong in retaining in bondage, beings who would be better off as freemen." Indeed, the example of a successful black caste might convince some whites as well as slaves that bondage was not the blacks' natural state. Furthermore, pro-slavery men saw among these freemen, people who were political activists in their anti-slavery sentiments and in behalf of their own rights.¹²

Some Negrophobes advocated colonization to rid Virginia of its free black population; but in 1858, the state's colonization law expired. At the grass roots level, whites used vicious intimidation and vigilantism, often means employed in the attempt to control freemen's behavior, to drive them from the state. Meanwhile, the legislature again debated the expulsion of free blacks under threat of enslavement. Such was the economic and political climate when the elder William Warrick uprooted his family and left Virginia.¹³

The Warricks chose Philadelphia as their new home. Having one of the largest and best-known black communities in the North, the city had long been a refuge for southern blacks--both free and enslaved.

Although Philadelphia was a manufacturing center which attracted large numbers of migrants, most manufacturing jobs were closed to black people. The majority of the black community continued to be working-class people dependent upon domestic service or common labor. A few enterprising individuals managed to escape the working class by becoming involved in commercial life in some small way. For some this was done by translating domestic skills into service trades. William Warrick worked for a short time as a baker before entering service as a steward. Twenty-five year old William, Jr. and his younger brother Mitchell obtained more independent employment as barbers--a service trade in which blacks traditionally were engaged. Soon the Warricks were able to afford a single-family house on South Ninth Street in a neighborhood of blacks and British immigrants who were also artisans and tradespeople. Given the conditions of the limited housing availability and

transportation, blacks and whites often lived in areas where they had more in common with coindustrial workers than with those of similar ethnic background.¹⁴

The 1860s were years of adjustment for the Warrick family, but as intelligent, fair complexioned people, they soon took their place among upper-class Negro Philadelphians with whom they had much in common. In those days the community was dominated by individuals who were often of mixed stock and usually the descendants of free Negroes. Although there were a few professionals among them, the majority were teachers, small merchants, clerks, or service tradesmen--for example, barbers, restaurateurs, and caterers. They not only had economic ties to the white community, but counted among their business and political associates white men of comparable social position. In addition to their involvement in the abolitionist and civil rights movements, they maintained a variety of literary societies, benevolent associations, tradesmen's guilds, and social clubs. These organizational affiliations forged strong social bonds among the elite within the black community.¹⁵ This was an intellectually and politically active group.

A prominent member of the black community was caterer Henry Jones. In 1839 Jones escaped from slavery in Virginia and went to Philadelphia where he obtained work as a waiter. With the knowledge acquired as a waiter, he opened his own restaurant on Eleventh Street in 1845. His specialty was fish and game, and the restaurant was a place where Society ladies often came to have fried oysters or oyster stew after a morning of shopping. Jones soon expanded his business to include

catering. He became so well-known that his clientele extended beyond Philadelphia to New Jersey and New York. His crowning achievement was catering the banquet held in honor of the Prince of Wales at Philadelphia's Academy of Music in 1862. Jones' skill at dressing diamond-back terrapin in a way that preserved it for long periods made it possible for the firm eventually to export this delicacy to France.¹⁶

No doubt a part of Jones' success as a caterer was the help of his wife Margaret Warren Jones. She was a woman of tremendous business acumen and was descended from a long line of tradespeople herself. Her maternal grandfather, Robert Ralston, was a white merchant who, according to Jones family tradition, married an African slave of noble descent. Ralston's concern for Philadelphia's Negroes led him to accept the office of Treasurer of the Free African Society in 1787. Margaret Jones' paternal grandfather, Isaac Warren, ran a stagecoach line from New York to Washington, D.C. Her father, Perry Warren, operated a livery stable in Philadelphia, while his brother Isaac was an innkeeper.¹⁷

The Joneses became one of the black community's most affluent families. Their wealth had accrued not only from the catering business, but from money they had invested in residential property on and around South Twelfth Street in the central city's Seventh Ward. In fact, the Joneses owned so much real estate in that area that a small street came to be known as Jones's Alley.¹⁸

As a man who had prospered, Henry Jones had always felt a deep sense of social responsibility. Before the Civil War, he had been involved in the abolitionist movement to the extent that John Brown, seeking supporters in Philadelphia, had come to visit him. In 1860 Jones joined

several of his anti-slavery associates in founding the Social, Cultural, and Statistical Association of the Colored People of Pennsylvania. Its officers at that time were Isaiah C. Wears, president; Jacob C. White, Sr., treasurer; and William Still, corresponding secretary. The association's membership also included Rev. Stephen Smith, Charles H. Bustill, Robert M. Adger, Jr., and Octavius V. Catto.¹⁹

The founders organized the association with the aim of improving the "moral, social, intellectual and pecuniary condition" of blacks in Pennsylvania. In order to accomplish this, they first proposed "the collection and classification of correct statistics" describing the condition of the state's black population. Meanwhile, the association's by-laws provided for the formation of committees on suffrage, civil rights, social rights and finance. The first duties of the Executive Committee were "to devise and execute plans of improvement in Philadelphia and vicinity, to provide a fund for any special emergency . . . (and) to remove prejudice in any direction when their civil rights are discommoded" During the Civil War, the association sent money to the "contrabands" in the South--slaves who found their way across the Union Army lines. They also strongly supported the establishment of the black Fifty-Fourth Massachusetts Regiment. During the war years, the S.C.S.A. also confronted the issue of segregation on Philadelphia streetcars. The organization formally protested several blacks being forcefully ejected from their seats. In the winter of 1861-62, it presented a petition which included the signatures of 360 prominent white Philadelphians, to the Board of Presidents of the City Railways demanding that the company end segregation on its lines.

Following the Civil War, in 1866, the association sponsored a lecture series in order to contribute to the "educational and moral improvement" of Philadelphia blacks. The series featured abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison, General Oliver Otis Howard of the Freedmen's Bureau, black activists Frederick Douglass, J. M. Langston, and William Wells Brown, industrialist-inventor William D. "Pig Iron" Kelley, and black poet and lecturer Frances E. Watkins Harper. The S.C.S.A. used the proceeds from these lectures to finance the collection and publication of information on freedmen which they sent to congressmen and other officials in support of their argument for Afro-American human rights. The S.C.S.A. also applied the money to the continuation of its battle to end discrimination on the City Passenger Railway.²⁰

Toward the end of the Civil War, the activities of the Social, Civic, and Statistical Association began to decline. One reason may have been the recognition on its members' part of the need for cooperation among race-conscious men on the national level, a belief represented by the National Convention of Colored Citizens, held in Syracuse, New York, in 1864. The following year, an affiliate of that body was organized in Pennsylvania--the Pennsylvania State Equal Rights League. By 1866, there were reportedly fifty-five county branches. Several S.C.S.A. men joined the league: Jacob C. White, Jr., Robert Adger, Jr., Octavius V. Catto, for whom one of the local Philadelphia branches was named, and Henry Jones. Other active members were William D. Forten and J. McCrummell (who were also honored by having the city branches named for them), Joseph C. Bustill, David Bustill Bowser, and Henry Jones' son, Andrew J. Jones.²¹

According to its Constitution, the league was organized to unite the state's blacks "in a common Brotherhood for the promotion of morality, education, temperance, industry, and the encouragement of everything that pertains to a well ordered and dignified life, and to obtain, by appeals to the conscience of American people or by legal process, a recognition of the rights of the colored people of the United States." In 1865 three members, which included Octavius Catto, sent a memorial to the Pennsylvania Senate and House of Representatives asking them to safeguard black voting rights. The league also took up the issue of segregation on public transportation. In 1867 it concentrated on getting a bill drafted by the Pennsylvania legislature against segregation. On March 18, 1867, the General Assembly passed a statute making discrimination against black passengers in any part of Pennsylvania illegal.²²

The Pennsylvania State Equal Rights League's concern for Afro-American human and civil rights extended beyond its state's borders. In 1866 the league had presented a resolution before the national convention condemning the barbaric treatment of blacks in the post-war South, and the inability of federal troops to protect them. It cited as an example "the case of whipping and burning the Colored women nearly to death in King William County, Virginia." They called the National Equal Rights League, their parent body, to action "to mitigate their suffering and to put an end to the outrages so furiously and so wantonly heaped upon the defenseless Colored loyalists of the Southern States." In addition, that same year, the Pennsylvania league addressed the U.S. Congress directly, demanding equal protection in law. "What we desire at your hands, Gentlemen, is simple JUSTICE," they wrote. "We wish to

be secure in our persons wherever we may go throughout this UNION; we wish to be allowed to travel unmolested in railroad cars, in steamboats, and by all other modes of public conveyance, and we wish to be politically and legally equal with our white fellow citizens." The league asked Congress "to vindicate [the constitution] from the assertions of the Slavemasters who had branded it as a self evident lie, promising life, liberty, and happiness to all, whilst it enslaved and made unhappy one-seventh of the community." Finally the league asked "that there be incorporated in the Constitution an article which will prevent any legislation in the United States and Territories against any portion of the civilized inhabitants on account of race or color." During these years of struggle, Henry Jones remained active in the league, serving as its vice president in 1868.²³

The senior William Warrick became a political associate and a friend of Henry Jones. Although the full extent of Warrick's activism is unknown, surviving records do show that by 1865, he, too, had joined the Social, Civic, and Statistical Association.²⁴

In 1865 William Warrick, Jr., married Henry Jones' twenty-two-year-old daughter Emma. By 1867 three children had been born to the Warricks: their eldest daughter Virginia was born in 1864, their second daughter Blanche in 1866, and their son William Henry in the following year.²⁵

For Emma Warrick the care of this growing family involved more than child-rearing and housekeeping. Like her own mother, Emma was a business-minded woman and was prepared to make personal contribution to the economic well-being of her family. By the 1870s William Warrick had

become a "master barber" who, with twelve journeymen under his supervision, had a shop in the Colonnade Hotel. Located on the corner of Broad and Chestnut Streets, the Colonnade was the "Ritz" of its day. Warrick's shop was appropriately lavish with a dozen chairs and rows of personal shaving mugs for his customers behind each one. Predominantly white, his clientele comprised some of Philadelphia's richest and most influential citizens. As a ladies' hairdresser, Emma had among her customers many of the wives and daughters of her husband's clients. As a result of William and Emma's mutual effort, the Warricks prospered.²⁶

Although the seventies were prosperous years for the Warrick family, they were also years marred by personal tragedy. In 1873 nine-year-old Virginia Warrick died after a sudden illness. Emma was inconsolable. Food poisoning, in those days always a present danger, might have been the cause; but as a caterer's daughter, Emma believed herself meticulously careful in the preparation of food. Thus in her bitterness over this senseless death, Emma looked beyond her own household and concluded that some malevolent, jealous person in the neighborhood had poisoned "Birdie." The loss of their sensitive child--first-born daughter and loving sister--was one from which it seemed the Warricks would never recover.²⁷

Two years later, in September, 1875, Emma's beloved father, Henry Jones, died. The family suffered not only grief and depression, but unforeseen problems which arose from his death. Even though Jones had paid for a burial plot in the Mt. Moriah Cemetery, the authorities of the cemetery association decided to deny his interment. To the shock and anger of family and friends, representatives of the association

turned back the funeral procession at the cemetery gates. Through quick action, the Joneses succeeded in obtaining a plot in the Episcopal St. James Cemetery in western Philadelphia. But Margaret Jones, the widow, was not so bereft that she forgot or forgave what the Mt. Moriah Association had done. In a move unprecedented for a black woman, she sued them in the courts of Pennsylvania. When her case finally reached the State Supreme Court in January, 1876, the justices' decision confirmed Margaret Jones' title to the Mt. Moriah funeral plot.²⁸

In the autumn of 1876, with family affairs seemingly more settled, Emma Jones Warrick discovered that she was pregnant again. Throughout the winter and the following spring, William and Emma anxiously awaited the birth of their fourth child. One of Emma's customers, the daughter of Pennsylvania Congressman Richard Vaux, was so fond of them that she asked that the baby be named for her if it were a girl.²⁹

Early on Saturday morning, June 9, William Warrick left his home at 250 South Twelfth Street. Saturday was market day and it was customary for men to do their family's provisioning. No one in the household was prepared for what followed. Emma, who had been well enough to sing in the choir of Saint Thomas Episcopal Church on the preceding Sunday, unexpectedly went into labor. At eight-thirty that morning, with the help of her younger sister Mary Elizabeth, she delivered a premature but healthy infant. Of course, there had been no time to prepare an "elaborate layette." Mary Lizzie took the tiny baby and wrapped it in her own flannel petticoat.

When William Warrick returned home, to his surprise and delight he found a new daughter who (he would always claim in tender moments)

greeted him with a smile. Remembering a promise made, William and Emma named their little girl Meta Vaux; but she would always be her father's "Darling Baby." Meta would come to believe that she was special to him because she "may have filled the gap caused by the death of his first-born." How ironic it was that she would owe so much to a sister she never knew, but whose presence she would feel through the memories of her elders and a small leather trunk containing a few hair ribbons and a rosey-cheeked china doll.³⁰

3

Soon after Meta's birth, her family moved into the house at 254 South Twelfth Street where she grew up. Meta's early years seemed to have been lonely and private ones, for she was a delicate child who lived in the protective world of house-hold and kindred. Yet surrounded by busy adults and siblings who were at least ten years older, Meta, who was a sensitive little girl, sometimes felt neglected. When she did, she could break into wild crying or become ill.

On one such occasion, her parents had casually mentioned the possibility of a picnic party for her playmates and herself. Meta was extremely excited. "All in silence," she "counted the days, the hours, the minutes. The last minute arrived and no picnic!" The grown-ups had forgotten. Meta shut herself in a closet and cried so long and so loudly that her Uncle Charles who lived next door heard her and came over to find out what was wrong.

When he inquired, he found the Warricks just as puzzled. How could Emma and William have known what hurt their daughter? Even at the age

of five, Meta tended to be an introspective, independent, private person, never revealing her deepest hopes and disappointments. After quieting the overwrought Meta, the family decided that it would be best not to mention a prospective event until the hour actually arrived.

Those solitary and introspective moments of Meta's early childhood were sometimes her most imaginative ones. She would build an elfin grotto in her city back yard for her china doll and herself. A syringa bush with its creamy, fragrant blossoms made an enchanted forest; the spray from a garden hose supplied a glinting fountain. Many times the little girl could be found sitting for hours with a picture book, her soft, round face and shining dark eyes becoming increasingly expressive as she conversed with the characters of every page. Sometimes Meta was the uninvited guest when family and friends came calling in the evening. When they gathered around the piano to sing, Meta "would listen wide-eyed in her bed and afterwards repeat the melodies accurately enough while making up her own fanciful version of the words she could not understand."³¹

To Blanche and Willie, sister Meta must have seemed a tag-along. Willie, a big tease, would try to discourage her attentions by scaring her with ghost stories and tales of superstition from Afro-American folklore. On the contrary, they fascinated her. Meta "took intense delight in thinking of even the most hair-raising of his stories."³²

Naturally, Meta identified with her older sister. When Blanche played the piano, Meta would lie underneath it, hidden and motionless. She would listen, enraptured, and wondering what made the marvelous sounds. Later, "all by herself, she loved to sit and touch the piano

keys and then talk to the little people she was sure she had wakened inside the end of the strings." When Blanche began receiving art lessons in high school, there was Meta underfoot, begging pieces of her clay and modeling little figures of her own.³³

An expanding world constantly challenged her. Meta remembered that when she was very small, the Warricks took a trip to Boston on the Fall River Boat. She recalled waking in the quiet hours before dawn and watching the shadowy figures and the bobbing lanterns of the deck hands as they went about their work.³⁴

One of her most sustained and wistful recollections would be of the pleasant moments spent with her father in Fairmount Park. William Warrick began to take Meta to the park when she was a toddler. A major attraction of Fairmount Park was Philadelphia's Zoological Garden, the first in America. Yet the park's natural beauty left a more lasting impression on Meta. A piece of the countryside near the city's edge, Fairmount Park was nearly four thousand acres of rolling woodlands, hills, and meadows. The main roadway extended for eleven miles along the Schuylkill River and up the dreamlike woodland gorge of Wissahickon Creek. Father and daughter spent hours walking and playing in the park. Meta would credit all her "joys of green meadows and green trees and twining waters" to those early visits.³⁵

In 1883 Meta, age six, started school. She attended an integrated grammar school in a fashionable neighborhood--the Locust Street Girls' School near Rittenhouse Square. For Meta, it was the first of many bi-racial institutions. Unlike most black children who went to city-designated "Negro" institutions, Meta, as a member of the "colored" caste

which had political connections, was able to obtain the recommendations allowing her admittance to such institutions.

Meta did not do well as a beginning student; she was shy with her classmates and, being a slow reader, was uncertain and reticent in her lessons. Also, for one who lived in a private world of dreams, the dry discipline of rote learning seemed repressive.³⁶

Meta preferred her lessons outside of the classroom. As soon as she was old enough, she began taking music lessons on the piano and guitar. Yet above all, Meta loved to dance. She wanted to take lessons in the dance as well, but the true matriarch of the family, grandmother Margaret Jones, objected vociferously.

Margaret Warren Jones was a formidable obstacle indeed. Having taken over the catering business after her husband's death, even her customers treated her with a proper degree of respect (they always addressed her as Mrs. Jones) and she knew how to handle those who did not. One day a fashionable lady came into the catering establishment. She did not place her order immediately, but stood there looking at the shop and its furnishings. As she glanced toward the hat rack the woman remarked, "Mrs. Jones, I see you have a derby on the hat rack. Whose hat is that?"

Margaret Jones replied, "My husband's."

"But your husband is dead!" the woman exclaimed.

"Not to me, he isn't. And you can take your order somewhere else!" the indignant Margaret Jones replied and escorted the customer out of her shop.³⁷

Margaret Warren Jones was not a woman whose opinion could be taken lightly. Grandmother Jones was a very religious person whose minister

called on her constantly. Although she maintained a pew in the Unitarian Church, she felt perfectly free to attend the services of any denomination that might suit her on a Sunday morning. Most elite Philadelphians had elevated dancing to an institution. Cotillions such as The Dance Class and The Assemblies were the social events of the year. Still Margaret Jones, who was old-fashioned and puritanical, did not approve. She was not going to allow her favorite grandchild to do anything as sinful as taking dancing lessons.

As a result, Emma Warrick was torn between acquiescing to her mother's wishes and fulfilling Meta's desire. Emma chose to satisfy both; she decided to smuggle her daughter out of the house for her lessons in dance. The fact that Meta was taking lessons was not a secret that could be kept for long; her enthusiasm for them would spill over at home. On finding his little sister "jumping and dancing around," Willie would laugh and tease her by calling her "the big-footed fairy." Meta, of course, caught in a private fantasy, would blush and think her brother just awful. In later years she would recall those times with amusement, yet admit that "it gave me quite an inferiority complex."³⁸

4

As a child Meta customarily spent her summers in Atlantic City where the family had a home and business. By July and August Philadelphia became unbearable. The residents of hundreds of chocolate-colored homes and red-brick row houses sweltered in the heat. The air, heavy with moisture, was oppressive, draining human strength. In that heat and humidity, streets and alleys reeked with vendors' produce gone bad,

horse manure, and refuse from shops and homes. The Warricks were among those Philadelphians who could afford to escape the summer discomfort. Of course, none of the family pets were left behind. Emma's parrot, Blanche's white poodle Fluffy, and even Meta's white rat Snowball joined the exodus.³⁹

The Warricks would board the ferry to Camden, New Jersey, and then go to the Federal Street station where they would take the Philadelphia and Atlantic Railroad train to the seashore. The journey was short and the family passed the time pleasantly as the train made its way through the sprouting communities of Collingswood, Westmont, Haddenfield and Lindenwold.⁴⁰

How entrancing the route must have been to the girl who loved green meadows and green trees, for after Lindenwold the landscape surrounding the right-of-way became increasingly diverse. Patches of pine forest began to appear and becoming progressively denser, were broken only by the orchards and charcoal works of Berlin. After Berlin the train wound its way around "shallow curves, past creeks, narl pits and cranberry bogs" until it reached Atco, a glass-making village twelve miles out of Camden.⁴¹

Ahead lay the pine barrens where "pitch pine and scrub oak dominated the view" and "druidical white cedars presided over gulfs of sepia-colored swamp water." If Meta looked closely enough, she might notice blueberries growing in the underbrush. As the train sped on, she could see the looseleaf, pitcherplant, Queen Anne's lace and mullein that grew in the thickets and along the tracksides, and the fiery-orange butterfly weed and goldenrod in the fields. Through the open window the aroma of

"pungent yarrow and fragrant purple horsemint" wafted in on warming breezes.⁴²

Beyond the little town of Absecon, pine barrens yielded to salt marshes with their sea lavender and tall clumps of sea grass. The air was tinged with salt now. The train then turned hard right to skirt Absecon Bay, and it ran out over a marshy neck of land. Suddenly Atlantic City unfolded in the distance, stretching across four miles of briny flats, and the Atlantic Ocean shimmered with reflected sunlight. Within a few minutes the train and its excited passengers lurched across the drawbridge over the Beach Thorofare and into the city itself.

The journey had taken only an hour and a half. Amid the screeching of steel wheels on steel track and the hollow hiss of steam, the Warricks got off the train and collected their belongings. They made their way through a crowd of fellow passengers, porters, and squabbling touts for the great hotels--the Windsor, the Brighton, the Traymore, the Chalfonte and Hadden Hall--, and finally boarded a horsedrawn streetcar for Pacific Avenue.⁴³

The Warrick home on the corner of Pacific Avenue was a handsome two-story frame house surrounded by a white picket fence. Large porches on the first and second levels of the house faced the narrow front lawn and the unshaded street. By 1886 William Warrick had installed electric lights which, despite their tendency to flicker on and off, Meta thought quite grand.⁴⁴

Boosters advertised Atlantic City as a Society resort; but in fact, very few of its visitors were listed in big city social registers. The

city's vacationers tended to be middle class and the majority of these were lower middle class--lesser white collar workers and clerks. Many of the latter were women, with increasing numbers of sales girls. The ambiance of the resort, therefore, was lower middle class, with local merchants catering to its tastes and aspirations. Foremost among these aspirations was to be part of the upper class.⁴⁵

Imitation of the upper class was a primary component of life by the seashore. This was easy to do in a town where no one knew anyone else, and Atlantic City provided a perfect illusion of social mobility. In this masquerade, costume was of the utmost importance and dress standards were high--suits and cravats for gentlemen; gowns, bonnets, and parasols for ladies. All were necessities for promenading on the Boardwalk or on the strand. Even so, what was a spectacular gown if one's hair were not perfectly arranged? This need provided lucrative trade for hairdresser Emma Warrick throughout the summer. In fact, she was the first black woman to own a business on Atlantic Avenue.⁴⁶

Emma Warrick's shop at 102 Atlantic Avenue, near the Boardwalk, was a place where a woman--socialite or shop girl--could come to be pampered in a manner to which society ladies were accustomed. The storefront shop was opulent in appearance. The salon was narrow with long rows of chairs to one side backed by gleaming mirrors.⁴⁷

Here Emma and her operators worked. Hair softened once again as they shampooed and washed out ocean brine. Then they would arrange the customer's hair to her satisfaction. With the careful attention of the manicurist, fingernails were shaped and buffed. Emma and her ladies would begin in the morning and work until lunchtime. Then they would

stop. Emma, a caterer's daughter, was an excellent cook and would prepare the mid-day meal in the shop's kitchen, a room located opposite the operators' chairs. All would eat and rest until time for the afternoon trade.⁴⁸

For Meta, who had no real responsibilities in her mother's shop, the stay in Atlantic City was truly a vacation. Atlantic City was a family resort and so she was not without playmates. Some were friends from Philadelphia and others were summer acquaintances. In either instance, all were white. This presented certain problems. In grammar school Meta had "chums of the Negro as well as the white race." All of her life she had intermixed freely. There was an intimacy among them and she had "never known any particular distinction." On the other hand, she thought Atlantic City "a more or less prejudiced place." Even though Atlantic City was dependent upon blacks for all types of personal service, whites in the tourist sections did not welcome them openly. In the words of one Philadelphia detractor, blacks swarmed the Boardwalk and Atlantic Avenue during bathing hours "like fruit in a huckleberry pudding . . . offending the sensitive feelings of many visitors, especially from the South." But Meta was a likeable girl and her mates were not unaware of the burden that adult prejudices and restraints placed on their friendship. Therefore, Meta and her companions would go down to the ocean early in the morning when the beach was nearly deserted, thereby avoiding the hostile stares of strangers.⁴⁹

Most of the black elite, however, particularly those like the Warricks with homes and businesses, simply did not frequent the tourist areas. Like the white upper-class which chose to vacation elsewhere,

these blacks recognized the city for the lower-class resort that it was. Therefore, they refused to risk being insulted by whites whom they considered social inferiors by going to restricted places. Furthermore, these blacks avoided the Boardwalk and its beaches because they strongly disapproved of the sexual freedom which seemed to be part of the social pretense there. On Sundays, after church services, the Warrick family would drive way up to Wall's Bath-house and the "colored" beach off Ventor Avenue.⁵⁰

For a child like Meta, however, the solution to the problem of racial discrimination was not so clear. To most young people the city was a constant source of amusement. There was the Boardwalk, "a wooden battlement of gingerbread balconies and jagged towers, gaudy storefronts and dowdy piers." On the Boardwalk there were dealers in novelties and "Fancy Goods" from all over the world, and confectioners selling salt-water taffy, tutti-frutti, and other delights on which to become deliciously ill. The Boardwalk provided "cheerful symbols of the machine"--carousels, round-about, and toboggan slides. There were also animal acts--trained lions and educated horses which did "everything but talk." Then on the beach, one could bathe in the surf or hunt for shells or take a donkey ride.⁵¹

Meta's experiences here were often less than joyous. She knew she should not go to the "tourist" places. Her parents surely had explained that she would be discriminated against because she was "colored." Nevertheless, in the good company of her white friends, Meta would find herself irresistibly drawn across the color-line. On the Boardwalk the group would decide that it might be fun to ride the merry-go-round.

Suddenly Meta would find herself alone in the crowd while her playmates scrambled for the brightly painted horses. As the calliope began to play and the carousel began to revolve, Meta would wait and pretend to be happy as her laughing, white friends rode the soaring mechanical steeds to the music of Surré's Poet and Peasant Overture.⁵²

Meta developed a hatred for the Poet and Peasant over the years. As a young woman she belonged to a mandolin and guitar club in Philadelphia. Reminiscing about it, she recalled that they gave a concert and on the program was Poet and Peasant. She hated the song so much that she "couldn't learn to play it." During the performance Meta held her guitar and went through the motions. She remembered that "the director . . . [noticed] that I wasn't playing and winked his eye at me, but nobody else knew the difference." As an adult reflecting on those times, Meta would recognize how much the melody represented the feeling of rejection she had experienced at being barred from the carousel. In Atlantic City, Meta had finally gone through the rite of passage which all black children faced--that first personal confrontation with color prejudice, and it was traumatic.⁵³

CHAPTER II

MATTERS OF EDUCATION

With the arrival of Fall, the Warricks were back in Philadelphia and Meta was back in school. Even though she still was not the best scholar, her artistic interests helped her to become more assertive and outgoing.

Like Blanche, Meta, who was now a student at the Hollingsworth School, began receiving art instruction. For once, she was the best. Having watched her sister at work, Meta was so proficient in drawing that she could help her classmates with the daily lessons better than her teachers could. By the time Meta was twelve, her teachers recognized her ability and recommended her for the Industrial Art School. When Meta attended the school, it was commonly known as J. Liberty Tadd's. Actually, journalist and folklorist Charles Godfrey Leland had founded the Industrial Art School in 1881.¹

In 1876 the Centennial Exposition not only celebrated the founding of the American Republic, but heralded the arrival of the Industrial Age. It was a testimony to the international progress of science and technology, with the exhibition of the best in manufacturers, in agriculture, and in art. Americans were proud of the showing the United States made; yet a first-hand look at European technological advancement whetted the American competitive appetite and, from then on, the United States dedicated itself to attaining industrial greatness. Sporadic

labor unrest, however, marred plans for continued industrial progress. Charles Leland blamed the trouble on a distaste for manual labor which he thought he saw on the worker's part. But unlike many conservative social critics, he did not fault the workman completely. Leland recognized the dehumanizing element of factory work. He also believed that the common school shared some of the responsibility for the general distaste for manual labor. Leland was certain that there was "too much attention to books" in the public schools. In other words, the emphasis on "classical" education, the traditional curriculum, by its very nature, gave laboring with one's hands a negative image.²

While visiting in England, Leland had become interested in the ideas of the Aesthetics or Arts and Crafts Movement. The philosophers of the movement, William Morris and Walter Pater, believed that decoration was art as much as sculpture. Decoration was essential to gracious living and spiritual harmony; thus, the utilitarian objects of everyday life should also be beautifully designed. By fusing the concept of art with medieval guild-inspired handicraft processes, these men sought to inject an appreciation of craftsmanship into labor philosophy.³

Leland immediately saw how the philosophy of the British Arts and Crafts Movement might be applied in a practical and remedial way to the American labor problem. Granting that an appreciation of decoration was culturally refining, he came to believe that "a knowledge of art, or how to make one or more things" was more important because it stimulated "in every mind a love of industry." Leland also believed that this conception of the decorative arts might be useful in the field of general education. If school children were taught how to design

original patterns beginning with their first drawing lessons, their overall intelligence would improve and so would creativity in all their studies. "Design," he said, "is the root which sends forth endless flowers."⁴

Leland presented to the Philadelphia Board of Education his idea of introducing the decorative or "Minor Arts" into the schools. For some time the Board had been besieged by doubts about its curricula and methods. Leland proposed to begin in a central schoolhouse, and to select children from public schools all over the city as his students. Teachers who wished to learn the instruction of the Minor Arts would have special evening classes.

The Board members agreed to try Leland's approach as an experiment. They gave him space on the top floor of the Hollingsworth School on Locust Street above Broad, and decided that one student from each grade in the various schools could go once a week, on a day set aside for them. The Industrial Art School accepted a few black students, as did most Philadelphia art schools, but, once again, they were members of the elite caste.⁵

Leland staffed his Industrial Art School with any person of competence who showed the slightest interest. Miss Lucy Moss, well-known in Philadelphia, taught needlework. J. Liberty Tadd, a graduate of the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, agreed to give lessons in modeling and painting. Leland, in addition to being the chief instructor of drawing, held classes in wood carving, metal work, leather stamping, and china painting. His niece Elizabeth Robins Pennell kept the accounts. Leland even drafted his personal servant, a black man named Eugene, "as

good as Ebenezer and capable of everything," to teach carpentry.⁶

Charles Leland was nearly sixty, but had lost none of his youthful vigor. He not only contributed time and money to the project, but also wrote textbooks on instruction. Philadelphians soon became accustomed to the sight of "the Romany Rye," an arty grey-beard, who sported a large, felt stetson and carried an unfashionable, black cane with a silver, ruby-eyed dragon handle, as he travelled a well-worn path between his rooms on Broad Street and his school on Locust.⁷

Moreover, he wanted all of his friends to see the school: some were willing; others were unwilling. Flamboyant poet and dramatist Oscar Wilde, who in 1882, was touring America and lecturing on the British Aesthetics Movement, visited while in Philadelphia. Unitarian minister William Henry Furness, pastor of Benjamin Rush's old church, thought Leland well-meaning, but foolish. On meeting his friend on the street one day, Furness had the unwitting affrontery to inquire "how his fad, the school, was getting on." Leland, believing that his enterprise had been slighted, responded by asking Dr. Furness "how his fad, the pulpit, was getting on." The result was mutual coolness from that day on. American poet Walt Whitman did not see the value of Leland's ideas and declined his invitation. According to Elizabeth Pennell, who was present when her uncle issued the invitation, Whitman expressed a lack of sympathy with "schemes savouring of benevolence or reform." He "believed in leaving people to work out their own salvation."⁸

Leland's harshest critics were conservative members of the community who could not equate traditional academic art with manual training. Some found the idea that art need not be morally instructive

distasteful. Others, like Elizabeth Robins Pennell, believed in "Art for art's sake." She thought that the Industrial Art School represented "the worst feature of the booming art in the Eighteen Eighties"--an eagerness "to know, to learn and to practice" with "an eye to ultimate profit." In marrying lithographer Joseph Pennell, scion of an old-line Philadelphia family, Elizabeth Robins had adopted many of the opinions of her new class (though not necessarily her husband's). In a truly patrician manner, she decried the notion that "gain was the incentive that drove too many students of the schools of Philadelphia . . . and set countless amateurs in their own homes to hammering brass and carving wood and stamping leather," and that "art was to them an investment, a gentlemanly--or ladylike--way to make a fortune."⁹

During the Industrial Art School's experimental years, one of those who hammered brass, carved wood, and painted was Blanche Warrick. To those who knew her work, however, she was "far above the amateur class." Her success and that of others like her helped to prove the critics wrong, to legitimize the school, and establish it as an integral part of the Philadelphia educational system.¹⁰

By the time Meta attended the Industrial Art School in the 1890s, J. Liberty Tadd was principal. Charles Leland had returned to Europe in 1884. While to some the school may have symbolized a means for economic advancement, to young Meta it represented what the public school had not--freedom of expression. She believed that "here real talent was discovered and allowed to develop." Giving Tadd's credit for producing successful artists and architects, she would always consider herself fortunate to have had at least "that priceless one day a week." At

Tadd's Meta studied freehand drawing, elementary design, modeling, and wood carving.¹¹

Her study received positive reinforcement within her family. Painting was an activity that Meta and Blanche now enjoyed together. Occasionally, Blanche would offer constructive criticism as Meta worked on obligatory studies in oil painting and water color, or in pen-and-ink sketching. William Warrick could not have been more pleased with Meta's interest in art. They talked about it constantly. Warrick bought Meta art books and began taking her to exhibitions and to the galleries of the Academy of the Fine Arts. She recalled that "together we lived in the pictures we saw, and the sculpture overwhelmed us."¹²

With such support, Meta worked hard in art school. In 1893 her diligence paid off: the officials at Tadd's chose one of her wooden carvings for exhibition at "White City"--the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago, Illinois.¹³

Meta Warrick's obvious talent contributed to her admission to Girls' High Normal School, a vocational training institution. At that time, entrance to any Philadelphia secondary school required that a prospective student obtain a recommendation and pass an examination in addition to having good grades. Few black students received the recommendation which allowed them to take the test. For example, two years earlier, Girls' High accepted 14 blacks out of 613 applicants admitted. Because Meta was successful in art school, her teachers no doubt urged her to channel her talent into teaching, then a practical career for women.¹⁴

But at sixteen, Meta was old enough to begin to explore wider career possibilities. Coincidentally, Monroe A. Majors, a black physician in Texas, published Noted Negro Women, a book which would influence a whole generation of young ladies. Majors was writing at a time when white racists were combining Darwinian theory of evolution and Malthusian population theory in order to prove blacks degenerate. Like those who believed in the ideals of "true womanhood," Majors was convinced that the success of the black race largely depended on "what our intellectual women will do" With a collection of biographies of accomplished women, he hoped to present a defense of the race, "a signification of Negro progress," and to inspire the girls of the present and future generation to "bloom into beautiful and useful womanhood."¹⁵

For the Warricks, being members of the "black bourgeoisie" in no way meant a lack of concern with social and political issues. Indeed, in the black community of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, there was great emphasis on self-help and social uplift. William Warrick was on the board of Philadelphia's Home for Aged and Infirm Colored Persons, and a member of the National Citizen's Rights Association. But even though there were many black women who were political activists, it was less sociably acceptable for middle class black women to be involved in political activity. For them, beautiful and useful womanhood was a matter of personal example, of providing a cultured home-life, or of being successful in their careers.¹⁶

Among Major's exemplary women, Meta could find several artists. Mary Edmonia Lewis, for instance, was the first Afro-American woman to

earn recognition as a sculptor. Born in 1845, Edmonia Lewis was the daughter of an Indian mother and a black father. Orphaned at an early age, she was raised among the Chippewa Indians. With the aid of her brother, she obtained some training at Oberlin College. About 1860 she went to Boston where, with the encouragement of friends, she decided to study art. As a student of successful sculptor Edmond Brackett, Lewis opened her own studio in Boston. During the Civil War, she gained public notice with a medallion portrait of John Brown and a bust of Robert Gould Shaw. In 1865 Lewis went to Rome, a magnet for neo-classic artists who wished to perfect their craft. Soon she attracted the attention of Charlotte Cushman, America's greatest actress of the period, and sculptor Harriet Hosmer, and became a member of the female sculptor's colony that American author Henry James named "the white marmorean flock." In Italy Edmonia Lewis produced her best known sculpture: Forever Free, an emancipation group; a bust of John Brown; a Wendell Phillips medallion; Hagar in the Wilderness; a bust of William Wadsworth Longfellow; and several Indian subjects based on Longfellow's poem Hiawatha. With the exception of a visit to the United States for an exhibit of her work at the Centennial Exposition of 1876, Lewis remained an expatriate in Rome. At the time Majors wrote about her, she was at the height of her popularity, and her studio attracted visitors from many nations.¹⁷

Meta could also discover Pauline Powell, a musician and painter in Oakland, California. A showing of her work at the Mechanics' Institute fair in 1890 was the first exhibit by a black artist in that state. Meta read, too, of Serena Moore and Fannie Hicks who were art

instructors. Moore, who taught at Livingstone College in Salisbury, North Carolina, was a water colorist. Fannie Hicks, who applied for space at the Columbian Exposition to exhibit the work of her students, taught at a college in Louisville, Kentucky.¹⁸

Even though examples of accomplished black women artists were to be found, Meta was cognizant of the obstacles she might encounter should she choose to pursue an art career. Throughout the nineteenth century, black artists had trouble gaining admission to the schools and academies that were accessible to white artists. As a result, they were unable to support themselves with dependable patronage. When able to enroll in art academies, black artists often faced the contempt of their white colleagues. Meta certainly was aware of the difficulty painter Henry Ossawa Tanner, a family friend, had suffered in his early attempts to get an art education. Tanner, a graduate of the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, and a gifted student of Thomas Eakins, recalled that courage was "necessary to overcome some of the unkind things I had to struggle with." He spoke of the "repressing load that I carried" at being "made to feel that I was not wanted, although in a place where I had every right to be" This and similar experiences had a profound effect on Tanner. He remembered that "even months afterward," recalling an encounter with bigotry caused "weeks of pain." Although Meta's entering art school a decade later had been easier, she undoubtedly experienced prejudice on the part of those in the system who questioned her right to be there. But Meta was single-minded and once she set her course, nothing could dissuade her.¹⁹

Like most parents, Emma and William Warrick wanted their children to succeed on a level exceeding their own. Their son William did so. After graduating from the Institute for Colored Youth, he was accepted at the University of Pennsylvania. Before finishing in 1887, he distinguished himself as one of the best in college athletics by setting track records in the four-forty. In 1891 he graduated from the University's medical school--only the second black physician to do so. The Warricks hoped that Blanche and Meta would do as well in life, yet what they knew about the experiences of black artists like Henry Tanner created doubts in their minds about the possibility of the girls choosing art as a career. After graduating from the Pennsylvania Academy, Tanner had hoped to go to Europe for further study, but he was unable to earn his expense money as an artist in Philadelphia. Consequently, Tanner went south to Atlanta, Georgia, where he established a modest photographic studio, an idea which, at first, he considered brilliant. Tanner thought that this union of "business and art" would create a job that would furnish him a small income and would not take all his time. But years later, he recalled: "The calculation that I should have some time was well made; the calculation that I should take some photos, a mistake. I had so much more leisure than I had calculated upon, and this so distressed me, that I could not work." Tanner continued, "I could neither make it go, nor dare let it go--because with 'blood and tears' I got enough out of it to pay my board each week." Tanner lived precariously on the edge of poverty until, by chance, he found a patron. The Warricks did not want their daughters to engage in any profession that depended on luck; they certainly did not want them

to have to reap pecuniary rewards through "blood and tears." Thus Emma Warrick reassured herself by providing them with an occupation on which she was convinced they could rely; she taught them all she knew about hairdressing.²⁰

Emma's customers were predominantly white, since most black women did not have the money to have their hair done. Furthermore, black women often found the result of their hair treatment less than satisfactory. If a black woman's hair were coarse, dressers did not know how to treat it so that it would conform to contemporary standards of beauty based on the white aesthetic: the methods of the period were not sufficiently advanced. It was common for black women who did not like the texture of their hair to cut it very short, or to shave their heads and wear wigs. Emma and her sister Mary Elizabeth did the latter. Emma wore a dark wig, and Mary Lizzie, who was of a fairer complexion, wore a striking red one.

Under their mother's tutelage, Blanche and Meta learned that hair really had to be dressed. Emma instructed them in styling with a combination of "rats" and "transformations." The "transformation" was a small cluster of curls which could be added to the customer's own hair. For instance, when a customer wanted her hair arranged in a simple bun or chignon, she might wear a "transformation" at her forehead. When creating a more elaborate style, Emma Warrick might achieve fullness by rolling the woman's hair over "rats"--little puffs of artificial hair--and then add "transformations" to the back or to the front of the arrangement. Emma was an award-winning wig-maker, and her daughters also learned the art of making "transformations" and wigs.

Emma Warrick's customers were all fashionable women who would come to her home to have their hair treated. Sometimes she would go to their homes, if they were going to a ball or to an event of similar importance. Blanche, who was a willing pupil, often accompanied her. But Meta, who hardly ever thought of something in terms of its practicality, found her assigned tasks uninspiring. She worked occasionally at shampooing or manicuring, but did little else. Besides, Meta was eighteen now and fully involved in the social life of her neighborhood. She was too preoccupied with her high school friends and her own activities to care much about the business of the shop.²¹

Much of her social life was centered around St. Thomas Episcopal Church, of which the Warricks were active members. Reverend Owen Meridith Waller, the rector, and his family were such close friends of the Warricks that William Warrick was godfather to their son Owen Meridith.²²

Saint Thomas Church provided a variety of activities for young people like Meta. There was the Saint Agnes Guild for young women. Meta learned to crochet and embroider in Mrs. Grubb's class at the church. There were also pleasant responsibilities to be taken. For her part, Meta taught Sunday school, belonged to the Altar Guild, and sang in the choir.²³

She loved to sing. Even before she became an official member of the "Singing School" at Seventeenth and Chestnut streets, Meta spent time there helping "the Professor" with the small children. Although she had yet to acquire proper singing technique, hers was a pleasant voice and she belonged to the Choral Union. Indeed, Meta's grandmother

Jones preferred her singing to her other talents.²⁴

Over the years Meta had developed a love of literature and was an avid reader. She seemed to like poetry best, and was soon collecting poetry by clipping it out of newspapers and magazines like St. Nicholas Magazine. Moreover, she had an amazing ability to remember and recite even the most lengthy poem.

Meta Warrick's love of books was nurtured in a strongly intellectual community. Nowhere was the pursuit of knowledge more honored than among upper-class, black Philadelphians. Over the years, they had formed a number of literary societies. Among these were: The Philadelphia Library Company of Colored Persons (1833); the Demosthenian Institute, a debating society for boys; the Gilbert Lyceum (1840s), with men and women members, devoted to "both literary and scientific purposes"; and a reading circle led by poet and electioneer, Frances Watkins Harper (1860s). Meta's grandfather, William Warrick, belonged to the F.E.W. Harper Poetry Reading Circle.

The best-known society and the one that experienced the greatest longevity was the Bannaker Institute. Organized in 1854, the Institute was named for engineer and mathematician, Benjamin Bannaker. Those who joined were men whose names appear again and again in the organizational history of the Afro-American community--William Still, Joseph C. White, and Robert Adger, Jr. in its early years, and later, Octavius Catto, William Bolivar, and Andrew J. Jones.²⁵

In accordance with the race-consciousness of these men, the Bannaker Institute's literary functions could hardly be separated from its political ones. While Bannaker members delivered lectures on

various scientific subjects, they debated more often the social and political issues confronting black people. Before the war, for instance, they argued: "Should We as a People Endorse the African Colonization Movement" and "Will the Effects of the Late Insurrection at Harper's Ferry be Injurious?" The institute occasionally followed up its concern for the civil and human rights of Afro-Americans with political action. Even its celebrations were recognition of important political milestones: American Independence on July 4, West Indian Emancipation Day on August 1, and Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation on January 1.²⁶

The most important function of the Bannaker Institute, of course, was educational. In that regard, it made one of its greatest contributions: during the twenty or more years of its existence, members assembled one of the finest libraries of manuscripts, pamphlets, and books by and about Africans and Afro-Americans. Thus, the Bannaker Institute was one of the earliest black historical societies.²⁷

In fact, out of that group came two of Philadelphia's prominent, black bibliophiles. One was Robert Adger, Jr., who donated the more than 200 portraits and books, that he spent over twenty years collecting, to Philadelphia's Home for Aged and Infirm Colored Persons. The other was William Carl Bolivar, a banker and a long-time correspondent with the Philadelphia Tribune.²⁸

Bolivar's interest in black history was rooted in the accomplishments of his own family. William Bolivar was born on April 18, 1849, the eldest son of George and Elizabeth LeCount Proctor Bolivar. During the War of 1812, his paternal grandfather had served in the battalion

that James Forten, a wealthy sailmaker, Richard Allen, and Absalom Jones raised. His maternal grandfather, James LeCount, kept the Delaware House on Second and Race streets for nearly fifty years. Around 1855, he turned the business over to his son-in-law, Goerge Bolivar, previously a workman in Forten's loft. For the Bolivars, racial pride was part of everyday living. Like the Henry Joneses, LeCounts and Bolivars were activists in the war against slavery. Grandfather LeCount was an abolitionist member of the Colored Union League. For grandson Billy Bolivar, awakening in the early morning hours to the tactical debates of black abolitionists was a vivid childhood memory. Known to his friends as Uncle Billy, William Bolivar was related to the Warricks by marriage. His first cousin, Virginia, was married to Meta's uncle, Richard Warrick, also a newspaper man, working for the Philadelphia Public Ledger. Therefore, Meta was fortunate to know Bolivar well as she grew up, and she was especially fond of him. Uncle Billy enjoyed giving books to children of whom he was fond. He would select one a little above the youngster's reading level in order to provide a challenge. To be allowed into his library was a great honor, never to be forgotten. Rev. Henry L. Phillips, the pastor of Crucifixion Protestant Episcopal Church and a long-time friend, observed: "How his countenance would light up when he spoke of some rare tract or book which he had found, possibly in an obscure book store."²⁹

Surrounded by such examples, Meta and five of her closest friends-- Sallie Boling, Louise Williams, Harry Phillips, George Ryder, and Spencer Irvin--formed their own literary society. The members of Sigma Delta decided to meet in the homes of the young ladies and, with the

highest sense of purpose, chose the maxim "Knowledge is Power" as their own.³⁰

The companions seemed to have shared an appreciation of the theatre. Living on Twelfth Street, just below Walnut, Meta was not far from the theatre district. She often went with family or friends to the Walnut Street Theatre, or to the Academy of Music. Hamlet would forever be her favorite play. She saw it first with Edwin Booth's nephew, Crestin Clarke, in the leading role. As a teenager, Meta also enjoyed seeing Gilbert and Sullivan's operettas H.M.S. Pinafore and Patience.³¹

Their mutual interest in theatre prompted Meta and the other members of Sigma Delta to try acting themselves. One such entertainment was an interpretation of The Greek Slave, a statue by American neo-classic sculptor Hiram Powers. Created in 1843, this statue depicted a young Christian girl sold in the Turkish slave market in Constantinople. Although nineteenth century Americans were a bit uncomfortable with the nudity of the figure, the ideals it represented appealed to them. Americans who considered their government a direct descendant of ancient Greek democracy had sympathized with the Greek struggle for independence in 1821. Abolitionists came to consider The Greek Slave America's first anti-slavery statement in art.³²

It is not known what form Sigma Delta's drama took, but when they presented it before an audience of family and friends, viewer reaction was surprisingly negative. On February 10, 1896, Meta confided in her diary: "Mama said she would not let me belong to Sigma Delta after our Tragedy." Meta's association with the club did not come to an end, but one can be certain that the friends considered their theatrical

selections more carefully from that time forward.

By the time Meta became a high school senior in 1896, her future became of greater concern to her. She was doing well as an art student, but even she had to admit that she was not achieving with equal success in her regular course work. Meta had little aptitude for science and mathematics. In fact, she failed mathematics. Thus, Meta, herself, began to doubt whether she could pass the qualifying examination for college.

Her instructors believed that she had promise as an artist and should continue her studies in that direction. In discussing the problem with Meta, they pointed out that she might consider applying to the Pennsylvania Museum School of the Industrial Arts. The yearly tuition was fifty dollars, but the Museum School also offered a number of scholarships through the Board of Education specifically designated for public school students. They counseled her to apply for one of these.

Meta must have agonized over what to do. She had an overwhelming desire to become an artist, but she was not certain that her parents would approve. She had never been denied much in her life, but if she discussed the idea with her mother and father, they might say no. Believing herself a dutiful daughter, Meta did not know if she could go against their wishes. On the other hand, if she took the test on her own initiative, nothing would be lost. If she passed and won the scholarship, how could her parents not be pleased? If she failed, they would never know that she had tried. Meta decided to apply for the Museum scholarship without telling her parents. Under the guidance of her

teachers, Meta prepared for and took the examination. Then she waited.³³

Within a few weeks, Meta knew that she had passed the test and had won a three-year scholarship. She was overjoyed. When she told her mother and father, they were surprised and then happy about her accomplishment. No longer floundering with an uncertain future, Meta took relief in knowing that in the autumn she would be going to the Pennsylvania Museum's School of Industrial Art.

Friday, June 5, was Commencement Day for Meta. In celebration, Emma and William Warrick unexpectedly presented her with a new dress especially for the occasion. That day and the days that followed were happy ones. The Tuesday following Meta's graduation was her nineteenth birthday. She received another new dress, a pair of gold, hooped earrings (which she would wear all of her life), and "some lovely roses" from Spencer Irvin, which Blanche preserved in still life. The summer days were good ones for both sisters, with Blanche entertaining her fiance, Francis Cardozo, and Meta fitting up her studio in anticipation of the coming school year.³⁴

CHAPTER III

THE CHRYSALIS

Only six blocks from Meta's home, the Pennsylvania Museum's School of the Industrial Arts was situated on the northwest corner of Broad and Pine Streets. Both the Pennsylvania Museum and its School of Industrial Arts owed their origin to the interest in art and art education that the Centennial Exposition of 1876 had inspired. In the belief that the Pennsylvania Academy represented the Fine Arts more than adequately, the trustees of the Museum devoted themselves mainly to the acquisition of collections illustrative of "the application of art to industry." They established the School of the Industrial Arts in order to develop the skills that "designers, superintendents and workmen in various Constructive and Decorative Arts" would require. Furthermore, they envisioned the Museum School as a training ground for teachers of these skills. Its first classes began in the winter of 1877.¹

The School of Applied Art, the division of the Museum School that Meta would enter, consisted of three major disciplines, each requiring a year of study. The first, Industrial Drawing, involved free-hand and mechanical drawing. Successful completion of this course earned students a certificate. At this point, they could begin working toward their diploma by taking a year of Decorative Painting, and a year of Decorative Sculpture. In this way, a student like Meta got a sampling of all fields of industrial art before choosing a specialty. Acquiring the Museum

School's certificates and diplomas, however, required more than good class work and passing examinations; candidates for these degrees had to "obtain a creditable rating" in the School's periodic art competitions.²

Meta enrolled at the Museum School in late September, 1896. Among the weekly lectures that she attended throughout this first year were: Art History, Historical Ornamentation, Principles of Design, Original Design, and Perspective. These lectures would be the foundation for much of her class work.³

The greater part of Industrial Drawing involved freehand sketching in charcoal, in pen-and-ink, or in watercolor. Much of this was copying. Meta drew studies in ornamentation, using plaster casts as models. She reinforced lectures on design by copying furniture, artifacts from the Museum, and draperies, thereby becoming more familiar with traditional patterns and decoration. She analyzed the structure of plants, and sketched studies of their flowers and foliage. Later, she would learn to incorporate these fundamental forms in designing original patterns.⁴

Meta got the chance to work from the living model in Sketch Class. The curriculum at the School of Applied Art was not so rigid that students were prevented from making a few independent choices in their courses. Meta chose to take the Sketch Class in her freshman year. In fact, it became one of her favorite activities.

Sketch Class met once a week. If the weather were pleasant, the class might assemble in the Museum School courtyard for its lessons. Enclosed by vine-covered, stone walls, and filled with floral gardens, it provided a perfect environment for drawing from nature. But as flowers faded with the chilly onset of late Autumn, the students returned

inside to work. Indoors, they modeled for each other, dressed in costumes that the Museum School owned. The professor, Howard Stratton, would announce the theme prior to the day it was to be drawn. Then the class would submit sketches of the pose they believed best represented the subject. The one whose drawing Stratton selected had the privilege of sitting for his or her classmates. Among the subjects Meta sketched were her classmate Miss Mann dressed as a saint, another, Mr. Scott, dressed as a copper worker, and a Moor. In addition, on at least one occasion, Stratton chose Meta to model for the class.⁵

Meta's preoccupation with school did not limit her involvement in community life. She finally became a member of the "Singing School." More importantly, she began taking lessons at St. Thomas for her confirmation into the Episocal Church.⁶

But as the winter of 1896-97 came on, the pace of her life slackened. Icy streets, piled with heavy snow made getting from place to place difficult and time-consuming. The damp coldness prevailed indoors as well, and residents of drafty homes found themselves threatened with illness.

During the first week of February, both Meta and her father were stricken with respiratory ailments. While Meta's condition improved, her father's worsened. By Tuesday, February 9, William Warrick was suffering from pneumonia. His family was so worried, that Meta's brother stayed with him all night in order to give him whatever medical attention he needed, instead of taking the train back to Germantown. Meta, for her part, soon felt well enough to resume her usual routine. She returned to school and attended choir rehearsal and her confirmation

class at church. But by Thursday, she confided to her diary: "I wanted to go to the lecture, but Papa is no better. He is delirious." The events that followed were so traumatic, that Meta recorded them in her diary with unaccustomed thoroughness.

Friday, February the twelfth, was somber indeed. The moody, gray sky opened up, showering sleet unremittingly. Meta did not go to school, but stayed with her father. Distracted by worry and the sound of ice pelting the windows, she tried several times to continue a letter she had begun, but to no avail. By mid-morning, it appeared that her father might not survive the day. Emma Warrick, therefore, sent Meta to the telegraph office where she wired her brother to come home. Soon after her return, Dr. Carpenter, the family's physician, came in order to change her father's medication. He was too late. Meta wrote in desolation, "at twenty minutes past one," Papa "passed peacefully and easily into God's hands where he had commended his spirit."⁷

In the days immediately following his death, the Warricks all carried on with the outward appearance of strength; there were family and friends to notify and funeral arrangements to make. They soon hung their laurel mourning wreath, a symbol for passersby, on the front door. On Sunday afternoon, callers, one after another, came to express their condolences. Meta's brother and his wife, Bella*, noticed that the strain she was feeling had begun to show. Thinking it might be better for her to get away for a time, Bella took her back to Germantown. Willie arrived there later. During the afternoon and evening, their

*Marie Smith Warrick

efforts to keep Meta's spirits up made her "feel very bright."

The following morning, Meta returned to the city. Although there still were visitors around, she managed to take a short nap. Later in the day, she went into the bedroom where her father's body lay. She thought, "He looked well, but a trifle darker than I liked to see." His throat was swollen "owing to the fact that much blood lodged" there. Still, she noticed that he was smiling. At eight-thirty that evening the family brought the body downstairs and laid it out in the parlor where friends could pay a final visit.⁸

The funeral was on Tuesday morning. As Meta sat with her family in St. Thomas Church, she thought the service beautiful. The sacristy was filled with flowers, their melding aromas overpoweringly sweet. There were white roses and orange blossoms from friends. The journeymen of her father's shop gave palms. Various organizations also sent floral arrangements in sympathy: violets, roses, and lilies of the valley from the choirs of St. Thomas; palms and violets from the vestries of St. Thomas and St. Philip churches. The Hollingsworth, Meta's grammar school, sent Easter lilies. The Philadelphia branch of the Ugly Club, her father's social group, gave a large flower pillow, while the New York chapter contributed a floral cross. Finally, there was the laurel wreath that Blanche, Willie, and Meta had provided. The choir sang many lovely hymns, but Meta was greatly moved when the congregation recited Psalm 121: "I lift up mine eyes unto the hills; from whence cometh my help?"

After the eulogy and the final hymn, Meta and her grandmother Mariah left the church early to wait at the cemetery for the funeral procession.

That last ritual of death at the cemetery was truly difficult for Meta. She had managed to remain composed in church, but here, the realization of the irrevocability of her loss finally struck her. Meta was so overwrought that she was the last person to leave the graveside.⁹

Emma Warrick had managed to function adequately during those trying days, but grief now overwhelmed her and sent her to bed. She became so physically ill that Meta and Blanche sent for Dr. Carpenter. With their mother's collapse, the atmosphere at home was so oppressive that Meta, still distraught herself, went to Germantown and stayed all night.¹⁰

On Tuesday, February 23, she returned to the School of Industrial Art, encouraged by the fact that "everybody seemed glad to see me back." Nearly two weeks behind in her studies, Meta struggled to catch up, all the while trying to adjust to life without her father. By the end of March, Howard Stratton, who was the director of the Art School as well as Meta's teacher, asked her mother to come to see him about her class performance. Meta recalled that later that evening, her mother and Grandma Mariah "gave it to me about school work and Blanche came to my rescue."¹¹

During April and May, her work seemed to improve. By spring she was taking Mechanical Drawing, which involved lessons in Descriptive Geometry and Perspective. She also studied original designing for fabrics, oil-cloth, and wall-paper. All the while, she continued her Sketch Class.¹²

On Friday, May 14, Meta left school unusually early. President William McKinley was arriving for Saturday's dedication of the Society

of Cincinnati's statue of George Washington, a gift to the city of Philadelphia.

On July 4, 1810, this Pennsylvania organization had resolved to create a permanent memorial to the nation's first president and to establish a fund for that purpose. More than sixty years passed before the society took its final step; from the large number of artists who submitted models, they chose German sculptor Rudolf Siemering to complete the project. Now, his equestrian statue of General Washington stood in Fairmount Park, ready for its unveiling.

Philadelphians had been preparing for the event for days. They tacked flags and bunting against walls, hung them from windows, and floated them from rooftops. Every shop picture window, bright with patriotic colors, contained a portrait of Washington. School children attended special assemblies where they sang patriotic songs and listened to sentimental orations.

Normal conversation turned to the subject of McKinley's arrival, the Union League and Society of the Cincinnati Banquets in his honor, or Saturday's military and bicycle parades. But the most extraordinary occurrence was to be the effort of two dauntless photographers from Bayonne, New Jersey, to film the parades and the unveiling from a "life motion machine." According to newspaper reports, William A. Eddy and his assistant G. A. Frishmuth would attempt to photograph the military procession as it passed the President's reviewing stand in Fairmount Park with a movie camera suspended "by means of fifteen tailless kites."

Like everyone else, Meta was caught up in the excitement of the President's visit. As she hurried to the Broad Street train station, she

passed fakirs with large cloth-covered boards, selling commemorative medals and badges. Others, capitalizing on the tale of child Washington and the ill fated cherry tree, sold small brass hatchets. On her way, Meta saw William O. Gilbert, a fellow member of St. Thomas Church. Discovering that they were both going to the station, they decided to greet the President together.¹³

Soon she and Gilbert arrived at the Broad Street station and joined the waiting crowd. As the time for McKinley's arrival grew nearer, the enthusiasts, reportedly, almost choked the exit to Market Street. Even a double row of reserve policemen found restraining them difficult.

At ten minutes to four o'clock, the Washington express pulled into the station to meet a cheering crowd. While the Washington Marine Band played, President McKinley, Vice President Hobart, the Cabinet, and other honored guests descended from their parlor car. Philadelphia's Mayor Warwick and representatives of the Union League and Society of the Cincinnati welcomed the presidential party when they reached the platform.

With the end of brief, ceremonial salutations, McKinley took Mayor Warwick's arm and, preceded by several robust constables, walked toward the exit. At the same time, a local train arrived, and its windows filled with the faces of eager passengers who realized what was happening. As the dignitaries moved nearer the Market Street exit, the tumult of shouts and clapping hands grew louder on all sides.¹⁴

While walking through the spectators, McKinley recognized William Gilbert, who stood beside Meta. Not only was Gilbert prominent as a black political activist, the Gilbert family were touring concert singers

who had performed for McKinley at Block Island, a resort in Narragansett Bay, off the New York coast. In a surprising moment that Meta would tell everyone about, President McKinley "spoke to me and bowed to Mr. G."¹⁵

On reaching the Market Street exit, the President, Mayor Warwick, and Mr. Dale of the Union League entered a waiting, closed carriage. When the rest of the party had entered their coaches, the procession drove to the Hotel Walton, with a guard of police to fight a path through the congested streets. As the crowd at the railway station dispersed, Meta returned home. Although she would be in Atlantic City when McKinley unveiled the statue of Washington, she was more than satisfied. The following day's celebration would be festive, but not as exciting as her personal encounter with the President of the United States.¹⁶

Monday morning arrived, the weekend's excitement subsided, and Meta returned to Philadelphia and to her classes. The final weeks of May brought a heightened concentration to her work as the school term neared its end. Of course, there were examinations. She did well on some, not so well on others--for instance, on her printed silk exam.

In addition to the examinations, there were competitions for various prizes offered annually at the close of the school year. The Museum School's Associate Committee of Women awarded a number of these: the Mary Aubrey Smith Prize for water color; the Henry Perry Leland Prize which Mrs. John Harrison offered for the best work in pen-and-ink; and the Mrs. George K. Crozer Prize for best work in drawing or modeling. Meta submitted several sketches, but was to be unhappy with the outcome

of this first effort. "I'm very much annoyed about the hands and feet," she wrote. "I went into the auditorium after the committee had decided, and I found none of my work." On June 3, classes ended. Despite the inconsistent quality of her work, Meta received her first year certificate.¹⁷

Meta worked on steadily at the Museum School. During the 1897-98 term, she followed a progressive program of Decorative Painting, Applied Design, and Interior Decoration. But she did not discover her true strength in art until her final year in the general course when she began studying Decorative Sculpture. This new involvement challenged Meta's intellect as no other subject had done. Finally, she began to excel and, consequently, her life took a new direction. Meta seriously began to consider a career in the fine arts.

Unlike her predecessor, neoclassicist Edmonia Lewis, for whom Italy was the center of artistic knowledge, Meta learned to sculpt in the Beaux-Arts style of France. Neoclassicists patterned their marble creations after those of ancient Greece and Rome. Their sculpture was characterized by smooth, even surfaces and carefully controlled contours. While the neoclassic sculptor cut down the surfaces and smoothed them, the men and women of the Beaux-Arts school built them up. As a result, a thorough study of anatomy was essential to their work.¹⁸

For the neoclassic sculptor, whose emphasis was on the external, modeling from plaster, antique casts had been basic to his education. Throughout the nineteenth century, American art schools had used exercises in copying plaster casts to introduce their students to anatomical

structure. By the eighteen-seventies, however, the French Beaux-Arts method had replaced its neoclassic predecessor. This system relied on sketching and modeling the nude figure. Its chief aim was that the student be able to produce a competent life study.¹⁹

Much of the credit for introducing this method to the Philadelphia art schools must be given to the painter Thomas Eakins, an instructor at the Pennsylvania Academy from 1873 to 1889. As a student of Gerôme in Paris, Eakins believed that the superficial knowledge that one could obtain from casts was insufficient. The study of the nude in life class was not enough for him; he went so far as to introduce dissection of human cadavers as a method of study. Eakins believed that "to draw the human figure it is necessary to know as much as possible about it, about its structure and its movements, its bones and muscles, how they are made and how they act. . . ."

He hated copy work, another nineteenth century learning technique. "Don't copy," he would tell his students. "Feel the forms." Eakins taught his classes how to paint the figure from the inside out. For instance, he advised them to "get the profile" of a head, "then see how far back the cheekbone is, then paint the eye socket, then the eyeball, then the thin eyelashes on top of the eyeball. Always think of things in this way and you will do good work."²⁰

By the time Meta studied anatomy, human dissection was no longer important to it. At the School of Industrial Art, as in most schools, anatomy became "artistic" only. In other words, Meta attended illustrated lectures, and was required simply to model anatomical studies from time to time.²¹

As an advanced student, much of Meta's work took place in Life Classes which met three days a week. Men and women studied separately. The women's classes met in the afternoon, men's in the evening. This course functioned in a way similar to the Sketch Class. The instructor announced a subject for which the students submitted poses for the model.

Once again, the emphasis of Life Class was on the nude. Meta and her classmates studied both the male and female figure. Unlike male models in the men's classes, male models in the women's classes posed discreetly draped. Even though this practice was intended to protect female modesty, in effect, it prevented the women from acquiring a complete knowledge of anatomy.

Nevertheless, as early as the 1850's, American women artists who were persistent managed to obtain a more thorough grounding in anatomy in spite of academic restrictions. Sculptor Harriet Hosmer's principal patron, Wayman Crow of St. Louis, arranged for her to receive anatomy lessons at St. Louis University. Anne Whitney, another sculptor, studied anatomy privately with a doctor at Brooklyn Hospital, then with Dr. William Rimmer, also an artist. With her brother William being a physician, certainly Meta had an advantage over most of her classmates.²²

While there were differences between the men's and women's life classes at the Museum School, everyone had the dubious privilege of working with animal subjects in modeling classes. Sometimes the animals came from the farm, sometimes from the city zoo. In either case, they could be trouble. Besides bringing the smell of the barn yard indoors, the creature often proved uncooperative. The experience of black painter Henry Tanner was illustrative of this fact. Once, as a student

in Thomas Eakins' class, Tanner had been so embarrassed by the professor's criticism, that he got the notion that having his own sheep to study would greatly improve his drawing. It was a brainstorm he soon regretted. "I will tell you something you never dreamed of . . . ," Tanner later confided to an interviewer. "While a flock of sheep is the personification of peace, docility, and all that is quietude, from my (unscientific) study, I have come to the conclusion that one sheep has none of the qualities of a flock of sheep, no, not one" Probably recalling hours of exasperation with his model, Tanner declared that "One sheep is not 'sheepish'; no, he is the most stubborn, balky, run-away, befuddled animal you can imagine."²³

The artist in modeling class could not just sit down and begin working. If the artist's sketch were in clay, the clay had to be prepared. Meta would remove a portion of the musty-smelling material from a barrel. If it were too dry, she had to wet it. If there were air bubbles in her clay, she had to remove them. If she did not, the small fissures would cause structural weakness in her final product when the clay was fired in the kiln. In order to remove the bubbles, Meta pounded the clay on her work table and slapped it with her hands. Then she would check it by cutting it with wire. If the surface appeared unbroken, she could begin work; however if there still were air pockets, she had to begin the tedious process again.

The instructor taught the class to work rapidly from a model. Thus, they could finish before the drying clay became less pliable. Furthermore, the technique encouraged a fluidity of style and a lively treatment of the surfaces. When bronze replaced marble as the sculptors'

medium, they, indeed, became modelers instead of carvers. Meta molded her sketches with her fingers. In these sketches the marks of thumb and fingers as well as sculptor's instruments remained as evidence of the impressionistic work of her hands. Later, Meta would smooth these out in the final piece, but the energy and animation this technique gave would still be there.

The sense of movement which was characteristic of the Parisian style can be attributed to more than external treatment. Often Meta used a wire frame which served as skeletal support. This gave her a spacial freedom which allowed her to depict emotion and physical strain dramatically.²⁴

In America, as in Europe, the Beaux-Arts technique made symbolism, the revelation of intangible truths, applicable to sculpture because it facilitated the dramatic portrayal of emotion. Dissillusioned with the material values and the deterministic social philosophies of their day, many intellectuals in the arts and in literature turned from an emphasis on realism and moved toward a recognition of the validity of emotion, imagination, and mystical experiences. Their goal was a rediscovery of the unity of Man and the universe, a quest that was often exhibited through an increasing preoccupation with Oriental religions and philosophies. Artistic symbolism, then, represented a philosophical approach rather than a pictorial style. During the second half of the century, Symbolism became a movement. Painter Elihu Vedder expressed the sentiments of a growing number of artists when he wrote: "for my part I must always admire a good arrangement of ideas as much as a good symphony in pale green and yellow."²⁵

While the spiritual content of symbolist art was important, the artist had to depict it clearly in the composition. An artist could not use unreal subject matter to show the spiritual reality beyond the material world and be sure that it would be meaningful to the observer. He needed a new visual style which would meld familiar images with abstract patterns. An artist achieved this in two ways: he employed the established symbols of mythology, religion, and literature, or he began to create a new visual language which, no matter how simple or complex the composition, would elicit the appropriate emotional or intellectual response from the viewer. One example of the latter was an appeal to more than one sense. In an effort to effect a specific mood, James Whistler gave several of his paintings musical titles. Pamela Colman Smith, a painter of Meta Warrick's generation, defined this synaestheticism best in explaining that her green and blue landscape, Beethoven Sonata No. II recreated "what I see when I hear music, thoughts loosened and set free by the spell of sound." Most artists, however, used the language of current literary symbolism as the ideological bases of their visual images.²⁶

Very often, the images European and American artists incorporated were filled with dark chimeras, reflections of fin de siecle pessimism. American painter Albert Pinkham Ryder's Temple of the Mind (c. 1885) was inspired by Edgar Allen Poe's "The Haunted Castle," a poem in which the author compared a deranged mind to a once beautiful palace in decay. Ryder's temple symbolized the intellect devoid of its finest attributes: imagination, intuition, and soul, without which nothing is left by madness. French painter Gustave Doré illustrated works of Alfred Lord

Tennyson, Samuel Taylor Coleridge, and Edgar Allen Poe. He painted dragons and black knights for Tennyson's Orlando Furioso, the ghost ship of Coleridge's Rime of the Ancient Mariner, and darkly illustrated Poe's The Raven.²⁷

In fact, Poe was an important influence on both literary symbolists and symbolist artists. According to one art critic in France, where interest in American symbolists was the strongest, Poe "originated the images of drowned people and crumbling houses reflected in stagnant pools of water, and evoked that atmosphere of suffocating vegetation and overpowering odours which can be experienced in some of the paintings of [William] Degouve de Nungues and [Lucien] Lévy-Dhurmer."²⁸

Meta Warrick had read many of the influential literary symbolists while growing up. She liked Tennyson and Longfellow, but loved Christina Rossetti, whose mystical poetry was full of visions of love and death. She was familiar with the writings of Stephen Crane, but was particularly fond of Poe's work: she read and learned his poetry by heart. Like most educated readers, Meta was able to follow the world of symbolist art in the columns of newspapers and magazines such as Mlle. New York, Harper's Weekly, and Scribners. Furthermore, as a student at the Museum School, the literary journals devoted to the fine arts, for instance, The Chap-Book, The Bookman, and Echo, were readily available to her.²⁹

As a young sculptor, Meta Warrick was drawn to the symbolist ideas that permeated her environment. Since the early days when she listened to her brother Willie's ghost stories and tales of Black folklore, Meta had been possessed with a predilection for the macabre. To her, those stories were "never separated from the fearful, the weirdly

superstitious." Meta was not afraid to experiment with the themes that fascinated her. To make use of them was an extraordinary choice for a woman; one must wonder if, apart from her given reason, being black in a racist culture made Meta susceptible to the negative view shared by so many symbolists.³⁰

One of Meta's earliest "grotesque" creations was Head of the Medusa. Modeling in clay, she depicted this classical character as a disembodied head with "hanging jaw, beads of gore and eyes staring from their sockets." Although the Medusa was a subject drawn from ancient Greek literature, by the late nineteenth century, it was a decapitation theme artists used to portray the separation of intellect and soul as well as despair at the inevitability of death. Meta followed her Medusa with Gestar, a fireplace panel. This bas-relief of a balladeer out in bitter snow was a softer portrayal than the previous work, yet according to one observer, its style was "very masculine." Even though Meta's approach to the Medusa and to Gestar differed, the meaning she sought to convey was similar. Romanticism would not thrive in cold and sterile surroundings just as intellect proved insubstantial without spiritual content.³¹

Like many of her contemporaries, Meta loved the operas of German composer Richard Wagner. Many artists were passionate about Wagner's work because they believed that he had achieved in music what they aspired to do: through his Leitmotive, Wagner used themes to express emotion in the same way that they tried to use images. Two of Meta's works were based on Wagner's operatic cycle, The Ring of the Nibelungs. Her first, Sigfried Slaying the Dragon, was so violent in its portrayal that a contemporary described it as "distinctly a step toward the

'yellow' in art." Inspired by a popular song, The Rhinegold, Meta also created The Rhine Maidens or The Three Daughters of the Rhine, one of her diploma pieces. The officials of the Museum School were so pleased with this work, depicting three beautiful women offering goblets to Sigfried, that at graduation they awarded Meta an honorable mention for the Mrs. George Crozer Prize for modeling.³²

The Museum School of the Industrial Arts' graduation ceremony was held on June 9, 1898. Seated in the Horticultural Hall auditorium that Thursday evening, Meta listened to the Honorable Albert Clarke of Boston as he delivered the commencement address. With America at war with Spain in Cuba, Clarke spoke to the graduates on the subject of "Industrial Supremacy." Following Clarke's speech, Meta and her classmates went forward to receive their diplomas.³³

After the commencement exercises ended, Meta, her family, and her friends went to the Museum School where examples of her diploma work stood as part of the annual exhibition. There they found her portrayal of Bob Acres, a character from eighteenth-century satirist Richard Brinsley Sheridan's play, The Rivals. In her portrayal, Acres sits on a tree stump, seemingly offering the viewer a word of wisdom. Her prize-winning Rhine Maidens was there as well.

More controversial than these, however, was a piece which she was required to produce as an example of skill in metal work--Crucifix of Christ in Anguish. It is a distinct possibility that Meta had seen F. Holland Day's Last Words of Christ, exhibited at the Philadelphia Photographic Salon during the Fall, and that she had this series of

pictures in mind when she forged her own work. Yet Day's Last Words were not universally well received. The general public had trouble accepting the idea that Christ was a proper subject for the camera; that Day posed for the pictures himself was absolute heresy. But the Boston photographer had been warned about possible public reaction even before he submitted his pictures to the Philadelphia jury. A close friend had advised: "The sacred exhibition scheme seems to me . . . to hazardous At least, I would not hang these pictures save in a city where I didn't live!" Meta's Christ in Anguish attracted similar disfavor among those who could not stand unorthodoxy in religious art. Although the crucifix earned Meta a prize for metal work, some observers objected to so tormented a Christ. When someone asked Meta why she chose this interpretation, she simply replied that "if the Savior did not suffer, then wherein lay the sacrifice?"³⁴

Finally, Meta had achieved the recognition that she had sought. She succeeded because she was not content to let others define her art, or to allow their ideas of proper themes for women to fetter her imagination. It was this individualism, in combination with a clearly intellectual approach to art, that would set Meta apart from the majority of women artists in the opinion of future critics.

Although Meta's three years in the general program of the Museum School had ended, her tenure there had not. She received a one-year, graduate scholarship which the school offered its talented students who were willing to teach part-time at the institution, or were willing to serve its interests in some other way. Meta took advantage of this policy in order to study illustration.³⁵

One might wonder why she chose this specialty, considering her achievements in sculpture. Perhaps the answer lay in the available careers for women. While there were opportunities for women illustrators in publishing and commercial art, for example, sculpture was still generally considered a man's field.

Meta, however, was not altogether sure of her decision. Drawing and designing, which illustration required, had not been her strong subjects. Although she worked hard in these courses, she eventually failed both designing and illustrating. Her teachers believed that although she had mastered drawing techniques, something was missing in her attempts in these areas. One thought it was spontaneity. Another believed it to be a sensitivity to color.³⁶

Meta pondered her situation. Finally, she realized that she had always been sensitive to form. She remembered that, as a child, she used to sit in church and miss every word of the sermon while wondering how this old man would look if he said "pie" or that old woman would look if she said "beans." Consequently, she decided to take the Museum School's Normal Course in order to prepare herself to teach, and devote the rest of her time to sculpting.³⁷

Subsequent events proved that Meta had chosen correctly. Shortly before the end of the school year, Paul Lachenmeyer, one of Meta's professors, called her into his office. At that moment, all Meta could think was "What have I done now?" Lachenmeyer went over to his desk and took out a photograph. Meta saw that it was a picture of Procession of the Arts and Crafts, the bas-relief of thirty-seven medieval costumed figures that she had done in fulfillment of her scholarship obligations.

Without saying a word, he wrote "First Prize in sculpture" on it. Meta could not help but be surprised; he was not supposed to tell who had won the prizes--in this case, the Crozer Prize--before Commencement. For Meta, winning the Crozer Prize was so gratifying that she vowed to dedicate her life to sculpture.

When Lachenmeyer finally spoke, he asked Meta about her future plans. She replied that friends and other teachers had urged her to continue her studies in Paris. She wanted "desperately" to go, but believed it "out of the question." The father who had been her most ardent supporter was dead, and she was convinced that her mother could not afford it and would not believe it suitable for her to go anyway. Lachenmeyer tried to convince Meta that she should be more optimistic, saying that she could not be certain of her mother's reaction. In fact, it was generally considered very unusual, and not entirely respectable, for a young lady to travel abroad unaccompanied, let alone remain by herself for an extended period.³⁸

Meta expected resistance to her proposal, but not as much as she encountered: both her mother and her Aunt Mary Lizzie strenuously objected. The Jones women had always been known for their singlemindedness, but Mary Elizabeth Lewis was imperious. A strikingly handsome woman, she had been twice married and twice widowed. Mr. Lewis, her first husband, was a black, Canadian lawyer who had come to Philadelphia to practice. He and Mary Elizabeth were married for only five months before he died. According to vague family recollections, Aunt Mary and her second husband had gone to the Klondike during the gold rush (circa 1897). Having made lots of money, they returned to Philadelphia. In

both cases, Mary Jones' husbands left her childless, but "well-fixed." Emma Warrick and her sister were always close; now, both widowed, they began to depend on each other more. Aunt Mary was quite willing to offer advice to everyone, even more so to Meta. She recalled that, with no children of her own, her Aunt Mary "wanted to share my destiny." Understandably, Meta found the combined objections of her mother and aunt discouraging.³⁹

Commencement at the Museum School was on June 8, 1899. Following the ceremony, Paul Lachenmeyer approached Meta's family to convince them of the advantages of her studying in Europe. Although they listened, Meta could not be sure that they would agree.

By mid-summer she was tired of waiting for a final decision. After lunch one day, she simply told her mother, "Mama, I'm going to go abroad to study."

With that, Emma Warrick replied, "All right, go."

Meta, reacting with shock and surprise, exclaimed, "What! You don't mean it, do you?"

But this time, Emma meant what she said. Through the intercession of Lachenmeyer and other teachers, she had been convinced that further study abroad would be right for Meta. Thus, she agreed to allow her to spend two years in France.⁴⁰

C H A P T E R I V

THE SOJOURNER

Meta and her family spent the remaining summer and early fall working out the details of her journey. Although her mother had consented to her European stay, she was uneasy about the length of time Meta would be away unchaperoned. Consequently, one of Meta's uncles offered to contact artist Henry Tanner, a family friend, who was living in France. He asked him to visit her occasionally while she was in Paris, and to assist her should she have problems. When Tanner responded in agreement, Emma Warrick was more confident that her daughter would be all right. But she still believed it would be nice if Meta could find a companion. No doubt, she mentioned this to her.¹

Meta thought immediately of May Howard, a former classmate at J. Liberty Tadd's. Like Meta, May had just graduated from an art school, the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, where she had specialized in sculpture. Meta believed that May would be interested. But, when she invited her, May declined. Possibly, May did so because she envisioned the same difficulty in persuading her parents that Meta had anticipated with her own mother. Being a proud person, however, May would always claim that she had not thought it necessary to go to Europe to further her art education. Thus, unable to coax May Howard into accompanying her, Meta became reconciled to going abroad alone, and began to make her arrangements.²

She wrote to the American consul in Paris about possible lodgings there. In response, he recommended the American Art Students' Club for Women, commonly known as the American Girls' Club. Located in the American section of the Latin Quarter, the American Girls' Club had a reputation for comfort and quiet. Famous for its afternoon teas, the club was a favorite meeting place for the Quarter's students. More importantly, it was within easy access of the most frequented studios. To Meta, this seemed an attractive hostel indeed. Consequently, she wrote to Miss Acley, the director, introduced herself as an art student who would be coming to Paris, and asked to reserve a room. Miss Acley answered her, saying that she would save her one of the club's thirty-eight places.³

Next, Meta obtained ocean passage for the end of September. According to her schedule, she would sail from Philadelphia to Liverpool, England. Then, she would remain in England for a week before traveling on to France. Her mother's contribution to Meta's plans was to arrange to have a friend, Harriet Johnson Loudin, who would be in England when Meta arrived, meet her in London and oversee her stay. With her itinerary established, the most important details of her journey were complete.⁴

2

Friday, September 29, was the day of Meta's departure. As she and her family prepared to leave their Locust Street home that evening for her ship, The Belgiumland, a delegation of her closest friends--Harry Phillips, Louise Williamson, Vincent Ryder, and Uncle Billie Bolivar--

came to see her off. Meta gathered her belongings with everyone's help. Then all went to the pier where The Belgiumland lay anchored. Once on board, Meta located her cabin and the group stayed a while to chat before going ashore.

Throughout the summer Meta's trip to France had been a constant topic of conversation between her companions and herself. Her enthusiasm was so contagious that they became as excited as she. In this spirit, Harry, Vincent, Louise, and Mr. Bolivar exacted a promise from Meta to send them news regularly. Furthermore, to insure that she would not forget a single detail, Bolivar gave Meta a parting gift--"a blank book in which to write my doings and my impressions of things, people, manners and customs." Finally it was time for Meta's family and friends to go ashore. In a briefly serious moment, Meta's mother and brother Will offered her a few words of advice and encouragement. Then, with tender embraces, Meta said goodbye to everyone.⁵

After they left, Meta got ready for a good night's sleep so that she could rise early the next morning. The Belgiumland was sailing at dawn; she did not intend to miss that. Besides, she wanted to be rested in case anyone came again to wave farewell. Actually, Meta was so excited that she only slept well until about three in the morning and then took cat naps.⁶

Meta awoke at five o'clock on Saturday morning. At six she was on deck, standing at the rail. She looked for a familiar face on the pier but no one had come. As The Belgiumland eased out of the harbor at sunrise, Meta thought it "indeed a very beautiful sight." By the time the ship reached the middle of the bay, she realized how wonderful she felt.

She went into the dining room to celebrate, ordering a hearty breakfast of oatmeal, liver and onions, rolls, toast, and weak coffee in order to celebrate. Then she hurried to send her brother a note before the mail boat cast off. "Although I have left you all behind," she wrote, "I am in good spirits." Meta told Will that she was glad to have had a few words with him before they parted. "I shall remember all you said," she promised, "and [will] be a good girl and make you still more proud of me."⁷

Because this was her first lengthy ocean voyage, Meta was apprehensive about sea-sickness. She had assured her brother--and perhaps herself--several times that she felt fine. But her sense of well-being was to be short-lived. Before long, Meta was ill. The very thought of food, she remembered, made her feel like she "would turn inside out." As a result, Meta remained in her cabin for almost half the trip.⁸

In a week her equilibrium returned and, to her relief, she got a chance to "see a little of the deck." Meta noticed that there were several Mormons on board and found them extremely fascinating. She also made the acquaintance of a young woman who was on her way to Europe to join her future husband. She told Meta that once she and her fiancé were married, they expected to serve as missionaries in a German settlement in West Africa. Meta thought this "a novel experience" and was pleased when her traveling companion suggested they write to one another when they reached their final destinations. Actually, Meta made a number of friends whom she recalled as, "all interesting people some of whom wish[ed] to meet me again." Together Meta and her new acquaintances enjoyed the social events which The Belgiumland offered its passengers.

Among these were weekly concerts in which the musically talented could participate. Although Meta was too ill for the first, she did perform for the second gathering.⁹

But for Meta and the others, crossing the ocean on The Belgiumland was not always pleasurable: near-disaster punctuated the journey. In the mid-Atlantic The Belgiumland encountered heavy fog. Nothing could be seen; only the bellow of ships' horns could be heard. Yet, in the murky grayness, sounds could be deceptive. Suddenly, another vessel appeared, startling everyone on deck. The pilots reacted quickly, changed course, and averted a collision. But to Meta and other witnesses to what had happened, theirs was a narrow escape. As she reported later, the ship had "missed us by only twenty feet." Before the voyage ended, there would be a small fire, another near collision, and The Belgiumland would almost run aground.

On October 11, in spite of all mishaps, The Belgiumland arrived safely in Liverpool England. By then the fog had cleared and at about nine o'clock that evening, Meta and the other voyagers gathered on deck. Meta recalled that they "were all noise and excitement," and "stayed out till nearly eleven in the star light," dancing and singing "to [their] hearts' content."¹⁰

When Meta disembarked on the following morning, her mother's friend, Mrs. Frederick Loudin, was at the pier to greet her. Harriet Loudin and her husband, the director of the Fisk University Jubilee Singers, were in England on the Choir's European tour. This was the first tour the black ensemble had made since the 1870s, when the original Singers traveled America and Europe, earning twenty thousand dollars for their

Nashville university. Because the Jubilee Singers were to give a concert in Manchester, which was not far away, Mrs. Loudin had decided to meet Meta in Liverpool instead of London.

Mrs. Loudin helped Meta with her bags, sending most of them ahead to her final destination. Then she called for a cab and the two women rode to the railway station. As they drove through the rain-swept streets, Meta thought about how much Liverpool reminded her of Philadelphia. She noticed that "one of the streets near the dock so much resembled the lower part of Walnut Street, that I might easily have thought I was somewhere between Third and Sixth St. Even the buildings had the same appearance." At the train station, Mrs. Loudin bought tickets to Manchester.¹¹

In Manchester, Meta took a room at the Deansgate Hotel. Soon afterward, she wrote letters to her family, recounting the events of the past few days. Then after resting, she went to the evening's recital.

The Manchester concert was Meta's first introduction to the spiritual. These songs, which thrilled English audiences, were not fashionable in Philadelphia where the black community's concern for showing its progress sometimes created a desire to forget the painful past. But that night in Manchester, the resonant, black voices of the Jubilee choir filled the concert hall as they sang: "Oh! stand the storm; it won't be long. We'll anchor by-and-by," and "Steal a-way, steal a-way, steal a-way to Jesus." As Meta sat listening pensively, she was moved by so eloquent an expression of the faith and courage of the slave experience. She was totally enraptured.¹²

The next day, the Loudins entrusted Meta to the care of Mrs. Sharp, a member of the Fisk Jubilee Singers. Mrs. Sharp, an American black woman, lived in London with her English husband and their two little girls. Meta stayed with the Sharps for a week. She thought London "quite a wonder" and tried to visit as many of its famous attractions as her time allowed. When thinking back on the kindness that the Sharps and the Loudins had shown her in England, Meta thanked her "stars for having fallen into such good hands."¹³

On October 26, Meta Warrick left London for Paris. She went to Dover and from there, traveled the twenty-three miles of English Channel to Calais. In Calais she took a boat-train to Paris where Henry Tanner was to meet her. Arriving at the Paris railway depot much earlier than she expected, Meta sat down on a long bench to wait for Tanner. She occupied herself by studying the physical appearance, dress, and mannerisms of the people who were milling around the station. As the hour of Tanner's arrival passed, Meta concluded that he was not coming at all. Thus, she decided to go to the American Girls' Club alone. Somewhat unsure of her French, she hailed a cabby and directed him to drive her to Number 4, Rue des Chevreuse.¹⁴

The American Girls' Club was located on one of the most quiet streets in Paris. On first sight, the club and its gardens with secluded seats and benches seemed more like a home than like a private institution. The hour was still early when Meta arrived there. Upon entering, she asked for the director, Miss Acley. Moments later, an employee escorted Meta, still wearing her coat and hat with its heavy travel-veil, to Miss Acley's bedroom. There she found the director, a handsome woman

with aristocratic presence, sitting at her dressing table, a maid arranging her hair.¹⁵

Miss Acley, who was preoccupied with what the maid was doing, saw Meta's entrance reflected in her vanity mirror. "Sit down, child," she said, greeting her warmly. Meta settled into a tufted, pink, satin chair and began to remove her coat and hat. When she lifted the veil, fully exposing her face to the daylight, Meta saw Miss Acley's expression, mirrored in the looking glass, turn to ice. Visibly shaken, Miss Acley turned quickly to Meta and exclaimed, "You didn't tell me that you were not a white girl! Why didn't you tell me that you were not a white girl?"

Meta's throat constricted with shock and the palms of her hands grew moist as she suddenly grasped the arms of the chair. In a dry voice, she told the director that she had not thought it necessary. "I was told that the American Girls' Club was financed by Mrs. Whitlaw Reid and other American women . . . and it was here for the American girl students who came to Paris to study. I felt that I, as an American girl, was entitled to come here."

Although Miss Acley believed that Meta was justified in her assumption, she was aware of the problems that Meta might face as a person of color. "I have no feelings whatever," she said, "[but] I would hate to see you ill-treated here."

"Well, I haven't come over here to enter on social relations with anyone," Meta replied. "I intend to study and get what I can out of my studies and go back home."

"That's nice," Miss Acley said. Meta was not certain whether the comment was meant for her or for the maid who had just put the director's last hair in place. "But," she reiterated, "I would hate to see you ill-treated, discriminated against, and there are Southern girls here . . . [who] might not show you welcome."

"That doesn't matter to me at all," Meta answered. By this time, she had grown impatient.

Finally, Miss Acley decided to take time to consider the matter. Furthermore, she admonished, "If I decide that you should not stay here, I wish you wouldn't insist upon it."

"Well, I'll have to see," Meta replied. "I'll have to think it over."

With that, the director sent for breakfast for Meta and herself.¹⁶

After breakfast, Miss Acley had an errand to perform across town and asked Meta to accompany her. All the while, Meta thought about her predicament, growing increasingly annoyed and indignant. By the time the two women returned to the American Girls' Club, Meta was livid. She went into the library to write a letter of protest to the American consul who had recommended the club. She declared that she had not told him that she was a colored girl because she had thought it unnecessary; she insisted that she be treated like any other American girl in this matter.¹⁷

While Meta was writing, a middle-aged gentleman with clear, grey eyes and a slightly bronze complexion entered the room. His curly, black hair was brushed back from his forehead in the Latin style, but his carriage, attire, and manner was that of a modern Parisian.

The man was painter Henry Tanner. Meta, whose annoyance was compounded when she remembered that Tanner had failed to meet her at the boat-train, told him what had occurred. "Well, I wouldn't insist on staying here; it's a cliquey place," Tanner advised. "You can easily find a place to stay and study." Meta considered this carefully and somehow her rightful anger gave way to doubts as to whether or not her reaction had been ladylike. She thought: Inasmuch as my uncle asked him to look after me, I can't say, "I will stay here!" He'll say, "This is an unruly girl; what shall I do?" Meta concluded that she had better mind what Mr. Tanner says. She decided to look for other lodgings and never finished her letter to the American consul.¹⁸

When Meta and Henry Tanner informed Miss Acley of her decision, she agreed to help Meta search for other accommodations. First, Acley took her to a pension or boarding house. On hearing what the rent would be, Meta thought it too expensive. She and her mother had considered the costs and had worked out her budget with care. Therefore, Meta did not believe that asking her mother for the increased allowance that staying at the pension would require was a fair request. Thus, she and Miss Acley tried again. Next they went to a convent. Meta considered the room cost reasonable because it was equal to the amount she had been prepared to pay at the American Girls' Club. But when she learned that she could have to be in by eight in the evening, that she could not have visitors, that she could not hang pictures, and that, at most, there was only one chair in a room, convent life began to sound more like prison life. This certainly was not the adventure in Paris that she envisioned. "Would you have me stay here?" she asked incredulously.

"Well, it's clean," Miss Acley argued.

"Yes, but cleanliness isn't everything," Meta replied. Furthermore, she told Miss Acley that she need not bother any longer. "I have letters of introduction to friends here in Paris; I can get them to find a place for me." Meta explained that what she really wanted was a studio where she could work.

Miss Acley thought for a moment and said, "Give me until tomorrow, and if I can't find a place for you . . . I'll have to give it up." Meta agreed to wait.

Before the end of the next day, Miss Acley found Meta accommodations in a small residential hotel in the Latin Quarter. At first, Meta was pleased. The rent was low at the hotel and, on an adjoining street, was a café which many Americans frequented, where the food was excellent and the prices acceptable. But the longer she remained there, the more convinced she became that it was "the last place she should have sent me." Meta discovered that not all of the hotel's clientele were reputable. As a result, she decided to find other lodgings as soon as she could.¹⁹

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Miss Acley did not consider that she had discharged all responsibility to Meta on finding her somewhere to live. Believing that the circumstances that prevented Meta from staying at the American Girls' Club were unfortunate, the director was intent on aiding her in any way she could. She knew that Meta would be seeking a sculpturing class and, as a popular member of the American community in Paris, used her contacts to help her. Miss Acley took Meta to see American sculptor

Augustus Saint-Gaudens, then residing in Paris.²⁰

Saint-Gaudens had come to Paris in 1897. With the unveiling of his memorial to Civil War Colonel Robert Gould Shaw that year, Saint-Gaudens had begun a monument to General William Tecumseh Sherman in his New York City studio. Unfortunately, he found working nearly impossible. Fifty-one years old, the sculptor was a man whose enthusiasm for art, according to acquaintances, made him "a nevrose, but with his nerves well under control." Ordinarily, work calmed him. According to one of his assistants, "sometimes he would arrive at the studio in a state of suppressed nervous excitement, but that moment his hands touched the clay and began to shape and press the material, he would gradually become quite calm and intent." On the contrary, working in New York had not been a restful experience. The Sherman was three years behind schedule and Saint-Gaudens was troubled by pressure from New York art committeemen. Now famous, callers beseiged him. He maintained four studios in the city; but no matter where this reticent man went to hide from visitors, he found his reception room flooded with admirers and prospective patrons. Furthermore, Saint-Gaudens taught occasionally at the Art Students' League. While he took pleasure in his gifted students, their problems often caused him additional stress. Even so, he helped them without hesitation. All of these circumstances contributed to the nervous exhaustion to which he was susceptible. Saint-Gaudens had envisioned "a colossal Sherman, all gleaming in gold leaf, with an angel to lead him, reining his horse in front of Grant's tomb on Riverside Drive." But in his present state, he could not shape the clay to his dreams. As a result, he came to believe that in Paris he could find the peace and

rest that he needed in order to be creative.²¹

Saint-Gaudens found a Paris studio in the Rue des Bagneaux, not far from the Luxembourg Gardens. In fact, he thought that Number 3, Rue des Bagneaux, itself, was "a garden-like place." In this beautiful setting, he rediscovered the creativity but not necessarily the privacy lost in New York. Students continued to seek him out. Many were women sculptors. Among them were: Helen Mears, who had premiered at the Columbian Exposition in 1893 with Genius of Wisconsin; Mary Lawrence, who exhibited her Columbus at the same exposition and whose work Saint-Gaudens greatly admired; and Elsie Ward, later one of his Paris assistants. Although annoyed sometimes with the intrusion of aspiring artists, Saint-Gaudens continued to advise them.²²

During her first of many visits with Saint-Gaudens, Meta Warrick told him about herself and about her plans to continue her studies in sculpture. Believing that most Americans needed to perfect their drawing skills, however, he counseled her not to begin sculpting right away and to take drawing lessons for six months. Meta was not entirely happy with the prospect of six months of sketching. But, because she considered him to be "conscientious" on her behalf, she decided to follow his advise. Saint-Gaudens recommended Adolphe Bourguereau or Raphael Collin as an instructor. Bourguereau, known for both the photographic realism of his style and the romanticism of his themes, was a successful French academic painter. Raphael Collin, although lacking the senior artist's prestige, was also successful. As a teacher, he was popular among the Latin Quarter's students. Meta chose Collin because he was popular and because he taught in the Quarter where she lived. Bourguereau's studio

was in another section of Paris and, ever mindful of her pocketbook, Meta did not way to pay the additional expense of transportation. Later, Miss Acley introduced Meta to Raphael Collin, who accepted her as a student in his atelier.²³

For Meta, those first six months were a struggle as she adjusted to a new routine. Although she found repeating drawing lessons tedious, she worked with great intensity to improve her technique. She began attending lectures in anatomy at the Académie des Beaux Arts in order to strengthen what she learned in Collin's atelier. Trying to manage her finances on her own was also difficult. Despite Meta's attempts to economize with Collin, his class proved to be more expensive than she had hoped. After enrolling, she discovered that there was only one instructor in the city who charged more than he did. Meta wrote her mother lamenting that "it has made such a hole in my allowance that I scarcely get through." Even so, she tried to budget more carefully without asking for an increased stipend. Needless to say, there was little money for sight-seeing, the opera, or the theatre which she loved. Still, Meta was able to take pleasure in simple amusements. At the end of her day's work, she would visit with friends, perhaps spending time with them in conversation over a leisurely meal at a sidewalk restaurant.²⁴

On one of his promised visits, Henry Tanner introduced Meta to his fiancée of several months, Jessie Olssen. Meta got to know Jessie and her family well. In fact, she became closer to Elna Olssen and Bessie Macauley Olssen, Jessie's sister and mother, than to either Jessie or Henry Tanner. On December 14, 1899, Henry and Jessie married at Saint

Giles-in-the-Fields in London. Soon afterward, they went to Egypt where Jessie modeled as the Virgin Mary for Tanner's painting, The Annunciation. From then on, Meta saw them less frequently.

Another of Meta's early acquaintances was Violet Salsi, an English-woman, married to a composer. A serious musician herself, Violet was in Paris for advanced study. Often Meta and Violet would gather with an expanding circle of companions for an evening of singing. Meta, who was seldom without her guitar, would accompany herself and the others. Sometimes, Violet would give her one or two of her husband's pieces to play for everyone. And when the group asked Meta to sing something of her own choosing, undoubtedly, she selected her favorite:

"Who is Silvia? what is she
That all our swains commend her?
Holy, fair, and wise is she;
That she might admired be."

Their mutual love of music was the basis of a lasting friendship between Meta Warrick and Violet Salsi. Before Violet left Paris, she presented Meta with a gift that she would always treasure--several of her husband's compositions.²⁵

As the months passed, Meta became restless and dissatisfied with the work she was doing under Raphael Collin. Although he was an excellent teacher and her drawing had improved, she had come to Paris to refine her modeling techniques. By May, 1900, Meta became convinced that she could not accomplish her goal as long as she stayed with Collin. Consequently, she left his atelier and proceeded to look for another

instructor. This time she did so alone. Because she was more fluent in French now, and knew the different classes in the city a little better, Meta believed that she could find a sculptor to teach her without anyone's assistance.

But in spite of her intention to be totally independent in this matter, Meta finally did accept the advice of someone else. On a visit to Saint-Gaudens' studio, she met a young French sculptor named Jeanne. When Meta unwittingly brought about a reconciliation between Jeanne and her fiancé, she earned a devoted friend. Jeanne had a studio near the Paris Opera and offered to share it with her. Furthermore, she arranged a meeting between Meta and sculptor Jean-Antonin Carles. This meeting resulted in Carles accepting Meta as his student.²⁶

At this time, the most common approach in private instruction was for a student to work independently. The teacher would come to evaluate the artist's progress or she might carry photographs of what she had done to him. Saturday, May 12, was Meta's first critical session with Carles and she was apprehensive. Dissatisfied with the modeling she had done in preparation, Meta feared that Carles would be displeased and would consider coming to her studio from Fontenay a complete waste of his time. When the moment to be judged finally arrived, Meta was surprised that Carles only "scolded just a little here and there," and, on the whole, was "trés content" to see her clay sketch so well done. Meta recalled that his praise not only relieved her anxiety but raised her "to one of the seven Heavens of delight."

As the lesson neared its end, Jeanne stopped by on her way to Pontoise, all out of breath and eager to hear what Antonin Carles thought

of Meta's work. Serious conversation soon turned to more casual talk. As the three entertained one another, Jeanne insisted that Meta sing for them with her guitar. Meta would remember that as she sang "snatches," the mood became gay and that Carles "fell in" with Jeanne "to pick out [her] 'adorable' points: what a 'grand chin,' what--some other kind of curves all over the face--what a suitable way to wear [her] hair, must never change the style--what 'gloriously rich' color." Meta considered their compliments merely light-hearted flattery. In that same spirit, she commented later, that if she did not leave France "big-headed," it would not be Jeanne's fault. The three continued to amuse themselves until Meta began to tire. Then Carles left to return to Fontenay while Jeanne went on to Pontoise.

All in all, everyone was satisfied that Meta's first session with Carles was a success. When the artist reached home, he wrote immediately to Jeanne, on whose request he had accepted Meta as a student, and expressed his amazement at Meta's competence as a sculptor. In his opinion, the photographs of Meta's work on which he had based his first impressions of her ability, had not captured the talent that he believed her clay model revealed. Seeing the clay sketch convinced him that Meta Warrick had great potential as a sculptor. So, he asked Jeanne to tell Meta that he was so happy to have her as a pupil that he would criticize her sculpture for five francs less than his usual fee. Undoubtedly, this missive pleased Jeanne. Back at the studio, Meta had found the session's outcome so uplifting that, in a short time, she recovered from her weariness and modeled until eight in the evening.²⁷

C H A P T E R V

COLLAGE: THE PARIS UNIVERSAL EXPOSITION OF 1900

When Meta returned home, there was a letter for her from Miss Crawford, a young woman she had met while in the company of Harriet Loudin in Manchester, England. She and Meta had kept up a correspondence. Miss Crawford was in Paris to sightsee and especially, to enjoy the Universal Exposition. Her letter was an invitation to Meta to join her. Even though Meta's primary concern had been settling into a satisfactory course of study, she was aware of the excitement and activity surrounding this highly publicized event. To its promoters, the exposition was to symbolize the international achievements of the nineteenth century's final decade and, more importantly, thirty years of French prosperity under the Third Republic. But to everyone who looked forward to the world's fair, it was to be a gigantic festival. Therefore, when this picturesque collage of pavilions and pagodas, mosques and minarets, Arab towns and African villages, gypsy cabarets and oriental teahouses opened on April 15, the city came to life with exotic participants and with tourists.

Meta felt like celebrating and accepted her friend's invitation. The two women spent nearly a week touring Paris. Meta was pleased to act as their guide to the city which had begun to feel like home to her. She was glad to do so because Miss Crawford expressed an interest in places that were familiar to her as an artist. More importantly, she

believed that if not for Miss Crawford's generosity in insisting on paying all their expenses, sightseeing and a trip to the Paris Exposition would have been luxuries beyond her reach.¹

On Sunday morning, May 13, Meta attended church with Miss Crawford at St. Sulpice, St. Germaine de Près. Then they decided to go to the Exposition, to the Grand Palais where two of the fair's major fine arts exhibitions were housed. Presented under the auspices of the prestigious Académie des Beaux-Arts, the Centennale was a retrospective of French painting and sculpture from 1800 to 1889. The more modern Decennale was an international display of art produced during the 1890s.

They began their visit, however, by attending a concert. The previous day, John Philip Sousa and his band had played at the opening of the United States Pavilion. Now they were giving outdoor, afternoon performances on the Esplanade des Invalides, only a short distance from the Grand Palais. Sousa and his ensemble were so popular that their concerts would quickly become fashionable gatherings for Paris's American colony and American tourists alike. So, for the two women, an opportunity to hear Sousa was not to be missed.

Meta and Miss Crawford soon discovered why Sousa was called the "March King." As they listened to the band's lively repertoire, they witnessed the electrifying effect he had on his audience. Meta thought the crowd's reaction to Sousa's "The Stars and Stripes Forever" especially remarkable. At first, the assemblage was quietly attentive but when military guardsmen, cued by the music, unfurled and waved "Old Glory" in patriotic display, Meta observed that "all the Americans went wild." They leapt proudly to their feet. With shouts and hurrahs, men

tossed their hats in the air and women threw flowers onto the bandstand. They created "such a storm of applause that he had to respond with the entire march."²

When the concert ended, Miss Crawford and Meta left the Esplanade and headed for the Grand Palais, situated on the Avenue Nicholas II. Built as a permanent addition to the City of Paris, the exhibition hall (serving as a museum for the moment) was an imposing edifice. The wrought-iron and lead crystal dome spanning the front half of the H-shaped palais was one of the modern architectural wonders of the exposition. This marvelous umbrella, however, was nearly invisible from the street below; Meta and her companion saw it clearly only upon entering the great pavilion. If they had thought to leave the exhilaration of the concert for the cool serenity of a museum, they were mistaken. The Grand Palais's two floors, gallery after gallery, were crammed nearly to their ceilings with art. For Meta and Miss Crawford an attempt to see everything, let alone contemplate what they were seeing, would be a challenge. The large crowd of Sunday visitors would make the viewing all the more difficult.³

Although Meta wandered through the Grand Palais with her friend, enjoying the paintings as well as the sculpture, it was the modern sculpture that most interested her. Much of the modern sculpture was part of the Decennale collection, located in the entrance hall. At first glance, the sculpture garden appeared chaotic. Meta's advisor, Auguste Saint-Gaudens, a member of the Art Awards Jury and of the Committee on Sculpture Installation, had had an opportunity to view the exhibit without the hindering crush of patrons; he observed that the

statues were crowded into such a "bewildering and phenomenal maze of extended and distorted arms, legs, faces, and torsos in every conceivable position," that to locate the extraordinary pieces there "took a great patience and calmness of spirit." Even though the exhibition could be frustrating, Meta was doubly motivated to remain and sort everything out: apart from her sculptor's desire to examine the kind of work others were producing, Meta probably felt pride and satisfaction in being personally acquainted with several artists whose creations were on display. For example, Jean-Antonin Carles was showing several pieces. One of these, Soldat expirant [The Dying Soldier], was a subject that Meta would later interpret in work of her own.⁴

Also, the French collection contained fine examples of the animation which the Beaux-Arts style gave sculpture. In Aimé Octobre's Le Remords [Remorse], a shrouded, haunted figure, appearing to float in air, pursues a male runner who, bent, with his hands covering his ears, flees in torment. Raoul Larche's La Tempête [The Storm] is of a similar mood. He depicted the storm as a female nude, who, with arms flung wide, hurls herself out of a funnel cloud of human bodies at the viewer. Her clenched fist, wild eyes, and lips open in a howl suggest the fury of a whirlwind.⁵

Unquestionably the most controversial sculptor at the Exposition was Auguste Rodin. Meta and Miss Crawford had a chance to see a few of his masterpieces at the Grand Palais. He was exhibiting a marble version of The Kiss, by far his most popular grouping, in the Decennale. There was more Rodin sculpture in the Centennale: the Head of Saint John the Baptist; the Creation of Man; one of the six Burghers of Calais, the

14th Century heroes who offered to sacrifice their lives in order to save their city; and the Age of Bronze. The Age of Bronze was Rodin's first major success but it was also his first scandal. When the statue appeared in 1877, one art critic, believing it to be too realistic, hinted that it was not sculpture but a cast from life. Rodin, who had spent eighteen months on the Age of Bronze, took great offense at this off-hand remark and his efforts to refute it became an issue in the Paris press. In addition to the theme pieces, Rodin was showing his bust of Victor Hugo, his first attempt at capturing the character of a public figure. When Rodin decided to model the bust in 1884, Hugo was too busy to sit for the portrait. But through the intercession of a friend, Edmund Bazire, the artist obtained a dinner invitation from Hugo and permission to sketch him at the table. Rodin was totally in awe of the novelist. "The first time I saw Victor Hugo," he recalled, "he made a profound impression on me; his eyes were magnificent; he seemed terrible to me." In addition to this literary hero, the sculptor's busts of his artist friends Jean-Paul Laurens and Jules Dalou were on display in the Centennale. If Meta wished to see a full Rodin retrospective, she knew she would have to wait a few days until the sculptor's private pavilion at the Place de l'Alma opened. In 1900 there were two celebrated causes for Parisian intellectuals; one was the Alfred Dreyfus Case, the other Auguste Rodin's feud with the Société des Gens des Lettres over his Balzac Memorial--a portrait that the society considered a caricature. Still seething over their rejection, Rodin wanted to give the public an opportunity to see a wide variety of his work; but, like every other artist, he was limited in the number of pieces he could

exhibit at the Grand Palais. Consequently, the sculptor set up his own exhibition, disassociating himself, somewhat, from the art establishment. In spite of the controversy, Rodin was a sculptor about whom myths were taking shape. For many prominent people in the world of arts and letters, the praise Gustav Geffroy had given Rodin in 1889 still echoed:

For two centuries a certain politeness has banished strong passions. In the process of restraining them, it has annihilated them. . . . But the nineteenth century is going to take back what is rightfully its own. If a Michelangelo were born to us today, to what point should he succeed? What torrent of new sensations and pleasures would he lavish upon this public so well prepared by theatre and novels!

For the true admirer, waiting for the Rodin Pavilion to open would be worthwhile, for the sculptor knew his public well. Rodin had chosen a large number of drawings, and 136 sculptures with an emphasis on his nudes and his most sensual groups. But, for Meta, the American section of the Decennale held more treasures for now.⁶

At the last Paris Exposition, in 1889, its Director General had stated his opinion that the "United States Section was but a brilliant annex to the French Section." Furthermore, he believed that it "would be difficult to mention many men who" did not "draw their inspiration from French masters." Once again, the United States assembled the work of its best sculptors; however, this time, they were certain that American art "had to a great degree emancipated itself from foreign trammels, and entered upon a career of its own,--expressing American thought and reflecting American nature." Daniel Chester French, George Grey Bernard, Frederick MacMonnies, and Augustus Saint-Gaudens were all represented. MacMonnies had sent Horse Tamers, two unruly steeds which

appeared larger than life in proportion to the groom who controlled one while riding the other. George Grey Bernard exhibited his interpretation of the duality of Man, The Two Natures. Saint-Gaudens had four statues in the Decennale: his completed Memorial to William Tecumseh Sherman; the Boston Memorial to Robert Gould Shaw; The Puritan, which came to rest in Springfield, Massachusetts; and Angel with Tablet.

Among the younger sculptors whose work was notable were two of Meta's fellow Philadelphians: A. Sterling Calder, whose Narcissus was on display, and Charles Grafly, a teacher at the Pennsylvania Academy, whose five sculptures included the prize-winning Vulture of War, and The Symbol of Life. Grafly's Symbol of Life was a good example of the optimistic image-building that characterized the symbolism of traditional American artists. Symbol was composed of two nude figures standing side by side, one male, one female. The male figure leaned against a scythe. The female figure, slightly taller than the male, stood with her arms around his shoulders; in her right hand, she held a globe from which sprang a single stalk of wheat. The stride of both figures was very masculine and both their faces showed stern determination. When Lorado Taft, a fellow sculptor, saw The Symbol of Life, he was convinced that anyone who knew anything at all about sculpture would appreciate its "bigness of handling, the feeling of the flesh firm upon the bones, the sinuous flow of the surface, so contrasting in the two" and "the subtlety of all things essential. . . ."7

The best representatives of American thematic independence were the prairie sculptors: Cyrus Dallin, Alexander Phimister Proctor, Hermon MacNeil, and Solon Borglum. With the exception of Hermon MacNeil, a

native of Massachusetts, each had grown up on the frontier where their fascination for American Indian life led to a desire to make it the subject of their art. MacNeil, dissatisfied with modern themes that he considered banal, began sculpting Indians in 1893, after seeing Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show at the Columbian Exposition in Chicago. All these men had Indian statues in the Decennale. Hermon MacNeil's The Last Act of the Moqui Snake Dance, a runner with a tangle of serpents in his hands was a rather frenetic portrayal of mysticism in Indian religious life. On the other hand, his Sun Vow, a seated old man who looks on encouragingly while a young boy seals a vow by shooting an arrow toward the sun, was much quieter, certainly more sentimental than The Last Act. There were at least two ways to interpret Cyrus Dallin's Crow Medicine Man. Some thought it simply a portrait of a priest whose mystical powers, granted by the Great Spirit, were symbolized by the bison horns he wore on his headdress. The more fanciful imagined the Medicine Man to be a shaman predicting danger in the westward movement of white settlers. Art patrons could see his apprehensions realized in Solon Borglum's On the Border of White Man's Land, ironically depicting another Indian, Blue Eagle, one of General George Custer's favorite scouts, peering over a bluff, spying on hostile Sioux. Notwithstanding the various dramas being played out in bronze on the exhibit floor, for which their creators won critical acclaim and awards, it was Borglum's freestanding, little Bufflow that most charmed the public.⁸

As a woman who wanted to make sculpting her career, Meta Warrick was pleased to find pieces by American and French female sculptors in the Decennale. In the American section were The Mermaid and Fisher Boy,

a pewter tankard by Enid Yardell; Bronze Clock by Caroline Peddle; Samovar by Carol Brooks MacNeil; and Music Room Panel by Janet Scudder --all examples of the application of sculpture in decoration. There were also two small statues by Bessie Potter Vonnoh, known for her depiction of middle class women. One was The Dancing Girl, a young woman in a flowing gown. The other, A Young Mother, was an example of Vonnoh's recurrent theme, multiples of children and their mothers. In this instance, the mother is seated with a blanketed infant in her arms. According to one of her teachers Bessie Vonnoh's sculpture conveyed "a sort of delicate domesticity." It was probably her traditional and sentimental view of the role of women that made The Dancing Girl and A Young Mother so popular with exhibit patrons. Meta saw three sculptural works by her friend, Jeanne Itasse, installed in the French section: The Egyptian Harpist which in 1891, earned Jeanne an invitation from the Viceroy of Egypt to visit his country and a traveller's purse to do so; a bust of her sculptor father, Adolphe Itasse; and Bacchante, a reclining female nude. Marie Cazin, principally known as a painter of anecdotal landscapes in the manner of Rosa Bonheur, also had several pieces of sculpture in the French collection. The most notable was Jeunes filles, a group as touching as any of Bessie Vonnoh's. Perhaps the most interesting French woman sculptor in the Decennale was Camille Claudel, the sister of writer Paul Claudel. One of Rodin's most brilliant students, Camille Claudel was able to analyze details and identify the essential structure of her models with an assurity that many contemporary critics believed to be rare in women sculptors. According to her brother, her skill in modelling was the result of relentless study from life and

months devoted to anatomy and dissection. Like many Art Nouveau sculptors, Claudel often worked with combined media, especially onyx and bronze. She was exhibiting three works at the Grand Palais: Ophèlie, La profonde Pensée [Meditation], and Le Rêve au coin du feu [Dream by the Fireside].⁹

What Meta Warrick actually thought of the sculpture she saw that Sunday afternoon can only be deduced. Yet she might have been inspired, for the subtle imprint it left on her imagination would later reveal itself in her own work.

During the following days, Meta and Miss Crawford visited Paris's most famous landmarks. They went to the Luxembourg Museum, to the Louvre which had opened sixteen new rooms for the exposition year, and to Notre Dame Cathedral. They enjoyed an afternoon of leisurely shopping at the Bon Marché, and an evening performance of Tannhauser at the Paris Opera. Meta thought their trip to the Musée de Cluny, originally a fifteenth-century monastery, indeed memorable. She and Miss Crawford spent several hours exploring the deserted sections of the old ruin, peering into musty dungeon-like cells. As they passed the cistern, Meta recalled an old saying that Truth could be found in the bottom of an old well. So she looked in, but all she could discover were sticks floating in dirty water. Whether, in fact, Truth had deserted this particular old watering hole because of its age Meta could not tell: all she knew was that she saw "nothing so nice down there."

For Meta the time spent going here and there with Miss Crawford had been exhilarating. In a descriptive letter to her folks, she expressed

a longing to share this excitement and hoped that they would come to Paris that summer.¹⁰

2

Although the Warricks were unable to come, the Paris Exposition did attract a number of Afro-Americans. Some were delegates to the World Christian Endeavor and the Pan-African conferences who planned their European trip to include an early visit to the world's fair. There was also a group of scholars who had compiled an exhibit especially for the Exposition on Afro-American life and history. It was actually the Negro Exhibit that gave Meta a chance to meet many of her black compatriots. Meta was touring with a fellow American student whose husband was a guard at the United States Pavilion. Having met the exhibition's coordinator Thomas J. Calloway through her husband, Meta's companion offered to introduce Commissioner Calloway to her.¹¹

The Palace of Social Economy, where the Negro Exhibit was located, was a plain white building on the Seine's right bank, opposite the Rue de Nations. As the pavilion's name implied, each country represented there sought to present its views of its social and economic progress. Housed within the Palace of Social Economy were the exhibits of the building and mutual aid societies of France; the working men's circles of Belgium; The International Red Cross; the city governments of Sweden; and the state insurance companies of Germany. The United States contributions reflected the urban-industrial growth of that nation since 1890 and the new concerns it aroused. Municipal planners sent models of well-built tenement houses. The Federal Government displayed sets of

maps and photographs showing typical industrial plants and the efforts of its inspectors to maintain safety standards. The American Library Association exhibit represented one of the nation's educational social services.

The Negro Exhibit was a separate part of the United States section. Its planners had designed this exhibit to reflect their integrity as a race through their history, current social conditions, and cultural contributions. This was accomplished, in part, by giving statistics relative to blacks in the United States as a whole and then comparing these with a typical, Southern, black belt state--in this case, Georgia. Within the 12 square feet allotted the exhibit entries, Meta saw volumes of photographs of other Afro-Americans designed to refute the stereotypical image of blacks which many whites held. There were also charts and graphs showing that the Negro population had grown from 220,000 in 1750 to 7,500,000 in 1890; that black urban growth had increased from 4.20% in 1860 to 12% in 1890; that 20% of the total population own their own homes; and that 60% of all black children were in school. The Georgia exhibit had been prepared under the direction of Professor W.E.B. DuBois of Atlanta University, a sociologist trained at Harvard University and at the University of Berlin. With barely adequate time and money, DuBois and his students prepared graphs showing: 19th century Georgia black population growth (30,000 to 860,000), its distribution, and its division by sex and age. They charted the school enrollment from 10,000 in 1870 to 180,000 in 1897. There were also statistics to show that 62% of black Georgians were engaged in agriculture; 28% in domestic service; 5% in manufacturing and mechanical industries; 4.5% in trade and

transportation; and .5% in the professions. DuBois and his assistants noted that in an area of the United States where holding land was difficult for black people, they owned 1,000,000 acres and paid \$12,000,000 in property taxes. They put all of this information--the fifty, colored charts that Meta and other visitors saw--on movable standards on the exhibit wall.

Among the Negro historical entries were maps showing the old African Slave trade, plantation photographs, and the complete Georgia black codes in three manuscript volumes. A special display case devoted to the nearly fifty army and navy Congressional Medal of Honor winners from the Civil War through the Spanish-American War was a testament to the often disputed valor of black soldiers.

There were also exhibits from black secondary schools and institutions of higher learning in order to show the variety of educational work among Negroes. The latter was represented by Howard, Atlanta, and Fisk Universities, which were liberal arts colleges, and Tuskegee and Hampton Institutes, representing agricultural and manual education. Howard University showed the work done in its professional schools--medicine, law, and theology. Fisk sent photographs and examination papers representing work in secondary and higher education; while Atlanta exhibited the achievements of its college and normal school graduates. Tuskegee Institute sent specimens of work from its manual-training and technical department. Hampton Institute exhibited 150 photographs of the institute and its Negro and Indian pupils at their studies.

The large amount of information which Thomas Colloway and others had gathered to present a positive view of Afro-Americans made the American

Negro Exhibit very popular among visitors to the Palace of Social Economy. The exhibit was always full of people. Undoubtedly it also impressed Meta Warrick. But she had to wait to see what were to be the strongest features of the exhibit; they were still being set up. Daniel Murray, the first black librarian at the Library of Congress and cousin of Meta's friend William Bolivar, had prepared a bibliography of Negro literature for the exhibit, and of the 1,400 books and pamphlets that viewers would see listed, 200 would actually be on display. Examples of the 150 black periodicals published in the United States would also be there. Furthermore, the results of the U.S. Patent Office's first effective survey of patents issued to Afro-American inventors between 1834 and 1900 would also be on exhibition. The fact that at least 350 could be registered disproved the assertion of a Massachusetts patent attorney who answered the federal inquiry that he had never known "a negro to invent anything but lies." On the contrary, the patent office's list of American innovators included the names of black Americans such as Elija McCoy, Granville T. Woods, William Purvis, and Miriam E. Benjamin.¹²

On the day that Meta and her companion circulated through the Negro Exhibit, they found Thomas Calloway already conversing with Thomas W. Hunster, a manual arts instructor at the Washington [D.C.] Colored High School. The exhibit that Hunster and his students had created--a set of tableaux representing black progress since Emancipation--had arrived damaged and the two were discussing what to do about them. When Calloway and Hunster learned that Meta was a sculptor, they asked if she could help to repair the figures. This was probably her first job offer as an artist, and she agreed to try.¹³

Meanwhile, Meta managed to move out of the Latin Quarter hotel and into her own apartment. Meta's pianist friend, Violet Salsi, decided to leave Paris that summer instead of waiting until October when her lease expired. Because she and her roommate had already paid their rent through October, they offered Meta the apartment rent free, and left their furniture to her to use until she, herself, decided to return to America. Now Meta was able to work comfortably. During the early summer she labored happily, dividing her working hours between her own projects in the new apartment and the Hunster Tableaux at the Exposition.¹⁴

Fixing the broken figures did not take Meta long. And Professor Hunster soon installed his dioramas. There were nine scenes in all, symbolizing the rise of the freedmen and stressing the high regard in which black people held learning. In the first scene he placed figures of an emancipated family. Behind them stood a gloomy forest, representing slavery; ahead, the winding path of an unknown future. The mother embraced the younger of her two sons, grateful that no cruel master could separate them now. The father looked down the unknown road despairingly as the older boy offered him an apple. In the second model, the father and his sons constructed their first, rude home, while the mother cooked their meal in a pot suspended from two forked poles and a cross beam. In model three, Hunster sat a northern school ma'am and her black pupils under an oak tree and had the father looking on, enchanted by the scene. Next, he presented him trying to convince his neighbor of the value of education. The freedman stood by his weary horse and pleaded with his neighbor, who was chopping wood, to build a proper school for the missionary teacher. In scene five, the freedman welcomed

the teacher into the new school, a cabin with fresh mud in the cracks and a stack chimney. Scene six showed the success which the black family had achieved. Their forty acres had become a small, working farm; their humble cabin a neat house. Seven years of the story passed. The cabin-schoolhouse became a white building with glass windows and a brick chimney, and, in model seven, the freedman's son, now principal, presided over a cheerful group of students. Professor Hunster's final tableau represented the second generation--the principal and pupils of The Washington Colored High School thirty-five years after Emancipation.

When Meta saw the figures that she repaired standing with the others, she was satisfied with the results of her efforts. Thomas Hunster was equally delighted and paid her well. But Hunster was not alone in being impressed by the quality of Meta Warrick's work. Several of the Negro Exhibit's overseers thought that this young artist deserved more than a monetary reward.¹⁵

3

One evening Meta heard a knock on her studio door. When she opened it, there stood Thomas J. Calloway and a balding gentleman of medium height, with a neatly trimmed mustache and beard. She recognized him as Professor William E. Burghardt DuBois of Atlanta University. Meta remembered seeing DuBois quite frequently in Philadelphia at St. Thomas Church, at the Franklin Branch of the public library, and at the University of Pennsylvania Extension Lectures. During that time, the thirty-one-year-old professor was teaching at the University of Pennsylvania and preparing a study of black Philadelphians. They did not actually

meet until the summer of 1899, shortly before she came to Europe. As Calloway and DuBois entered her apartment, Meta recalled a pleasure trip that she and several friends had taken from Atlantic City to Sea Isle to visit Harry Phillips and his family. On their arrival, they found Dr. DuBois seated on the veranda of the Phillips' cottage. Meta remembered how shocked she had been that, when the group was introduced, "he barely lowered his book, bowed stiffly, and looked bored." There was nothing for them to do but "move on," feeling like "little children" who were "in the way." Moreover, Meta remembered that the way he treated her and the others did not improve. He was equally distant at supper. Consequently, when Thomas Calloway introduced William Edward Burghardt DuBois to Miss Meta Vaux Warrick, she greeted him "as any lady would who had been previously snubbed."

Meta asked her visitors to enter and be seated. Then Calloway explained why he had come. There was to be a subscription dinner at the United States Pavilion for Afro-Americans and he thought she might like to attend. When Meta inquired about the price, DuBois spoke up for the first time: "I have come, Miss Warrick, to offer you my escort so that for you there will be no subscription." Meta was taken aback; she could hardly believe her ears. Of course, she accepted; there seemed nothing else to do.

Actually, Meta was delighted to receive an invitation to such an important affair. She resurrected her white, silk, graduation dress--her "best bib and tucker"--for the occasion. On the appointed evening, DuBois called punctually for Meta and they left for the United States Pavilion's banquet hall. During the brief greetings and introductions

preceeding the dinner, Meta was surprised to learn that her host was Master of Ceremonies. In fact, during the course of the festivities, she found the professor to be an excellent toastmaster. From her place of honor on DuBois' right, Meta counted twenty-four guests in all. The size of the gathering seemed to make its members affable and Meta, feeling comfortable in this setting, had a most memorable evening.¹⁶

4

During the weeks following the exposition dinner, Meta spent more and more time with her fellow countrymen. She adapted her schedule so that she worked mornings and had the rest of the day to spend visiting the exposition with her companions. Among this group were Andrew F. Hilyer and his wife Mamie. Hilyer, an employee of the United States Department of the Interior, was an agent for the United States Commission for the Paris Exposition. He had organized the exhibit at the Palace of Social Economy entitled, "Collective Exhibit of Negroes in Merchandise, Factories and Allied Occupations." Mamie Hilyer, an accomplished pianist, had accompanied her husband to Paris. DuBois and the Calloways were members of the touring party, of course, and so were Alonzo F. Herndon, a prosperous Atlanta barber, and his wife, Adrian McNeal Herndon, a teacher at Atlanta University known for her talents as an actress. Another Georgian among the group was Ruth Halsey, daughter of C.M.E. Bishop Lucius Halsey, the founder of Paine College in Augusta. Ruth was also a pianist and was continuing her music studies in Paris. Closer to Meta's age than the others, she and Meta got along well.

Going to the world's fair could be expensive, particularly if one wished to frequent the more fashionable attractions there. Fortunately, the small fee Meta received for repairing the Hunster Tableaux figures made her feel that she could loosen her purse strings a little. Consequently, she spent every day touring some section of the Exposition.¹⁷

Located in Central Paris, the exposition grounds resembled a large "A." A broad strip of the city, stretching from the Champ de Mars to the Eiffel Tower and hilly Trocadero formed the A's right leg; another from the Champs Élysée to the Hôtel de Invalides represented the left. A gentle curve in the Seine, bound on either end by the Alexander III and Iena bridges, formed the A's horizontal bar. The exposition buildings were arranged closely and, therefore, a visitor could complete the tour in a few days. For the tourist's convenience, speculators had erected, at great expense, the trottoir roulant, a raised, electric sidewalk with bands moving at different speeds. Although the conveyor was a major topic of conversation that summer (it received wide coverage in the popular press, often in cartoon form), most people preferred to walk or to be pushed from place to place in a rolling chair. The sidewalk was not entirely abandoned, because, after all, the longest leg of the fair was two-and-a-half miles.

This exposition was perhaps the first world's fair to pay special attention to the arts. No doubt Meta revisited the Centennale and Decennale at the Grand Palais with her new friends. In addition to these, there was a retrospective of French art before 1800 at the Petit Palais, across the avenue. A return to the Esplanade des Invalides revealed a number of small, lavish pavilions devoted to the decorative

arts where Meta saw displays of ceramics, jewelry, clothing design, and interior decoration. Furthermore, she found an exhibit of works by the Société National des Beaux-Arts Salon's female medalists at the Women's Building situated on the Champ de Mars near the Eiffel Tower.¹⁸

Tourists like Meta could see their favorite works of art come to life at the Tableaux vivants, located, as were most of the Exposition's theatres, in the vicinity of the Rue de Paris. They could sit riveted to their seats as the Théâtre du Grand Guignol presented a dramatization of one of E. A. Poe's horror tales, or enjoy the light-hearted performances of Parisian street entertainers at the Maison de Rire. There were puppets and marionettes on the avenue as well. Further down, near the Trocadero's park costumed actors and minstrels populated the streets of Vieux Paris. This architectural reconstruction of the medieval city was one of the fair's more ambitious commercial attractions.¹⁹

The Swiss Village, at the far end of the Champ de Mars, was another. Its designers' aim was to synthesize the diversity of Switzerland. From the time Meta and her companions entered the village, Paris disappeared, hidden by rocks and mountains through which narrow footpaths meandered. Meta and her friends passed chalets arising in verdant valleys, and observed goatherds tending their stock, while cattle grazed in real pastures nearby. From the highest mountain peak, cascading waters powered hillside sawmills before flowing onward into the town. There, they enlarged to become the Lake of the Four Cantons, with the old Treib Inn on one side, and Tell Chapel on the other. In town, the group saw weavers, lacemakers, and young women in native costume, tending flocks of geese. From time to time, the delicate music of a carillon floated

through the village for all to enjoy. And, to complete this Helvetian setting, there were the lively folkdancers and yodeling singers that every tourist pictured when he thought of Switzerland. The Swiss Village was a popular section of the Exposition.²⁰

At the opposite end of the Champ de Mars, an elevator ride to the top of the Eiffel Tower, where the panoramic view of Paris and the Exposition was breath-taking, was as much a favorite pasttime with visitors in 1900 as it had been in 1889. Those for whom such heights were dizzying could take an imaginary balloon ride at the Cinéorama, or rest in an easy chair at the Globe celeste, while rolling canvases overhead simulated a voyage among the planets. At the Tour du Monde, dioramas depicted life in Africa, Asia, and South America. But for Meta and her friends, the Tour du Monde could not match the allure of Trocadero Park; its tableaux seemed merely three-dimensional billboards for the exhibitions there.

This hilly park, stretching from Passy down to the river's edge, was primarily the colonial section of the world's fair. Here, one could find pavilions representing, for example, Dutch Indonesia, the Transvaal, and the Portuguese and British empires. But, as in the case of several parts of the Exposition, France had reserved half the Trocadero for itself. The French government imported hundreds of colonial craftspeople to construct its pavilions, some of which--Cambodia, Tunisia, and Algeria, for instance--were more resplendent than those of several prosperous, sovereign nations. Perhaps this grand display was an effort to upstage the British, whom the French considered their chief rivals for worldwide power. Maybe the French hoped to divert the world's attention from the

diplomatic humiliations they had suffered in recent years. Such concerns proved to be of little consequence because the Trocadero and its exotic cast of characters so bewitched tourists that very few gave its politics a thought.²¹

Instead, like writer Paul Morand, who toured the Exposition as a child, visitors passed carefree days becoming familiar with every corner of the Trocadero: the "Tunisian bazaar where you smoke the narghileh and watch the dancers, the stereorama, the Kasbah, the white minarets, surprised to find themselves reflected in the Seine, the stuffed African animals, the pavilion of Indo-China varnished with red gum, its golden dragons and its carvings painted by annamites in black robes." Near Indo-China's pavilion stood a model of the recently discovered Temple of Angkor Wat and the Indo-Chinese Theatre, where Frenchwoman Cleo de Merode imitated Javanese dancers, with golden serpents around her wrists and golden circlets in her hair. Morand was amazed that within sight of the Eiffel Tower, there was a Tonkinese village nestled by a lake, with junks and with women chewing betel, and a Dahomey village where men strode about "barefoot with proud and rhythmic bearing" as "their wives pounded millet and peanuts."²²

To the far right, on the lower Trocadero, a wooded corner became a Japanese garden. Overlooking a tranquil pond with floating lotus blossoms, stood a teahouse where patrons like Meta listened to the breathy aria of a bamboo shakuhachi or to the koto's staccato song while sipping saki or golden tea tasting of roasted rice. Within a few steps of the teahouse, they could enjoy the Exposition's Japanese art exhibit, housed in a replica of Hondo's fifth-century pagoda.²³

If Meta and her tourist friends continued to work their way up the right side of the Trocadero incline, they would arrive at the Trans-Siberian Railway, an exhibit which was popular among society's elite. At "Moscow Station", beneath a tower of the Asiatic-Russian Pavilion, passengers boarded an express train and seated themselves in a luxurious coach decorated in velvet, onyx, crystal, and marble. Then the journey began. Outside the train windows, long, rolling canvases, painted backdrops, revealed the Caucasus, barren steppes, pine-covered islets in wide rivers, gold mines, and Mongol tombs. Meanwhile, riders snacked on zakuski and tea served by a moujik in a belted blouse. Their arrival in China was marked by the appearance of a Chinese who moved from car to car, serving jasmine tea; their excursion's end by his shout: "Peking! All change here!" When the travellers alighted and exited at "Peking Station", to everyone's amazement, they found themselves at the Forbidden City gates in the Chinese section of the Exposition.²⁴

From there, the Thé du Ceylon was only a short walk away, on the Trocadero's summit, just beyond a grove of mauve-flowered Empress trees. Fashionable people liked to gather there beginning at five in the afternoon and on into early evening in order to relax after touring the Exposition. According to Paul Morand who went to the Ceylanese teahouse at least twice a week, on Trocadero heights the entire hillside "exhaled perfume, incense, vanilla, and the smoke of pastilles that are burnt in Seraglios," smelled "of sherbet and rahat-locoum." In this setting, teahouse patrons drank iced-tea with lemon slices, sampled ginger-flavored delicacies served by thin, white-robed waiters whose hair

glistened with cocoanut oil, and watched Devil Dancers in grimacing masks with bulging, wooden eyes.²⁵

Meta and her companions often followed their day's amusement with dinner at an Exposition restaurant--the Café de l'Étranger, for instance. It is not inconceivable that they also attended at least one theatre performance that summer.²⁶

The theatre season of 1900 was exciting both on and off the exposition grounds and it so happened that its luminaries were women. One of the major attractions at the Exposition was American dancer Mary Louise Fuller. Aesthetes and artists like Meta were irresistibly drawn to Loie Fuller's pavilion on the Cours-la-Reine, but it was not her beauty that attracted them, for "La Loie" was neither beautiful nor young. The unusual freedom and fluidity of her movements on a stage of glass, lit from below with brilliantly colored lights fascinated them. "Modelled in glowing embers, Loie Fuller does not burn, she oozes brightness, and is flame itself," wrote novelist Jean Lorrain, having seen her performance at the Exposition. "Standing in a fire of coals," he reported, "she smiles and her smile is like a grinning mask under the red veil in which she wraps herself. The veil which she waves and causes to ripple like the smoke of a fire over her lava-like nudity." For Lorrain, she was "Lot's wife transfixed in a statue of salt amid the avenging conflagration of the five accursed cities . . . with the fire of heaven and hell for a veil." Impassioned reviews like Lorrain's were strong motivation for modern artists like Meta Warrick to go and see Fuller perform. Once they did, they too became staunchly devoted to her. For example, Rodin, who became a close friend, sketched her. Theodore

Riviera, Clara Pfeffer, and Raoul Larche created bronze statuettes in her image. To these men and women, Loie Fuller personified the spirit of Art Nouveau and the triumph of the Age of Electricity.²⁷

Meta might have returned to the Fuller Pavillion to see Loie Fuller's protégé at the fair, Japanese actress Sada Yakko. While Fuller symbolized the exuberant spirit of Art Nouveau, Yakko brought the nouveau artist's passion for oriental art to life. Writer Paul Morand, who saw Sada Yakko in The Geisha and the Knight, remarked that as she performed "in a setting of paper lanterns, of quaintness, of hallucinations, of acrobatics and charm," she suddenly revealed to him "the soul of feudal Japan. . . ." The promise of such a revelation drew avid theatre-goers and aesthetes to the Fuller Pavilion where she and her company were playing. The notables in Yakko's audience included Lord Alfred Douglass, who had stopped in Paris on his way to the Transvaal, and British actors Henry Irving and Ellen Terry. It is not inconceivable that Meta Warrick also visited the theatre on the Cours-la-Reine because she, too, shared her contemporaries' fascination for oriental art.²⁸

Meta also shared their admiration for the legendary actress Sarah Bernhardt. During the first part of the year, she had seen the famous French actress in the Eugene Morand-Marcel Schwob production of Hamlet. Although Bernhardt had portrayed Ophelia years earlier, she had always been intrigued with the title role and wanted to produce Hamlet for her theatre. Yet no existing French translation appealed to her; she felt uncomfortable with the lines. Consequently, the "divine" Sarah commissioned playwrights Morand and Schwob to re-write Shakespeare for her. The result was La Tragique Histoire d'Hamlet: Prince de Danemark. The

production was controversial. According to a biographer, she was "more passionate than undecided; more sentimental than philosophic; a Southern Hamlet moving in a play which had been adapted . . . to approach the type of play then in fashion." Bernhardt's tragedy was completely fin de siècle, just the kind of interpretation that appealed to the romantic in Meta Warrick. One can be fairly sure that she returned to the Théâtre Sarah Bernhardt on the Place de Châtelet to see the actress portray the Duc de Reichstadt in L'Aiglon.²⁹

Meta did not go out every night. Occasionally, she and four or five acquaintances would congregate at Thomas and Lettie Calloway's, or she would invite them all to join her and several French friends at her studio. One of Meta's visitors remembered an evening filled with jovial conversation. When the talking began to lag, Meta picked up her mandolin and "strumming the accompaniment sang a little song, a gay theme, that repeated itself with fascinating variations." Meta's guest recalled that when Meta sang, her "eyes sparkled and she was very happy."³⁰

Autumn cast a more somber mood on Paris and its inhabitants. The foliage along the avenues changed from sylvan green to pale golden tints, and the once brilliant, red geranium yielded to its more serene cousin, the Fall Chrysanthemum. On cool September and October mornings, Seine mists created a cloud city of minarets and pagodas "whose marvelous absurdity," according to one spell-bound observer, "astounded one"; and, at sunset, they cast a roseate aura around bronze- and copper-colored domes. It was a dream-like world but somehow sad, as the frantic pace of summer life slowed. November made grim vistas of buildings sagging with autumn rain, melting down like streaking water-colors, and cold

weather finally drove the Trocadero's "pauvre transplantes" home.³¹

On November 12, the Paris Universal Exposition officially ended. The Paris newspaper Le Correspondent reported that in the evening an enormous crowd, rumbling with a vague feeling of anxious curiosity, gathered on the Champ de Mars and waited. "Suddenly the Eiffel Tower cannon reverberated, repeating its death-knell every quarter of an hour, then the last explosions burst forth like a final lament; all the lights were extinguished and the drums ominously beat the retreat; it was all over and the crowd gripped by an unconquerable emotion, roared 'Long live France!'" To the reporter and to the dispersing crowd on the Champ de Mars, the end of the Exposition seemed like "the end of a dream." It was a feeling that Meta Warrick could share for she had had to say good-bye to old friends and new acquaintances and return to a comparatively subdued existence devoted to work and study.³²

C H A P T E R V I

THE DELICATE SCULPTOR OF HORRORS

In early fall, 1900, Meta decided to give up her lessons with Jean-Antonin Carles and enroll in one of Paris's art academies. Her primary reason was that continuing private instruction was becoming too expensive. But Meta was also aware that this was to be her final year in France, and once again she was impatient with her progress toward goals she had set for herself. Like most art students, Meta knew that a good way to advance was to attend one of the better-known art schools. They wielded tremendous power in shaping an artist's career because they controlled the annual salons where the interested public could become familiar with his or her work.¹

Of course, the most prestigious French art school was the national École des Beaux-Arts. As a state-supported academy, the école was theoretically free to anyone who wanted to study there, but the academy attracted so many French and foreign artists that government aid for everyone was an impossibility. Therefore, the École des Beaux-Arts controlled the number of students it accepted by requiring each applicant to take a French language examination. The test was extremely difficult and, thus, effective in eliminating many foreign hopefuls as well as incompetent French aspirants.²

Consequently, a number of individuals established small art academies to catch the national academy's human overflow. Some artists

attended these private art schools while preparing for the École des Beaux-Arts examination. Other purposely chose them because they believed the école to be artistically conservative, a foil for new ideas. The national academy's most successful rival was the Académie Julian, with several branches throughout Paris. The Académie Colarossi was also popular, especially with Americans. In addition to their regular staffs, both Julian and Colarossi paid well-known artists, some of whom taught at the École des Beaux-Arts, to criticize and appraise students' work. Because the école academicians were often members of salon juries, they could get their Julian or Colarossi pupils' work admitted to an official exhibition such as the Société National des Beaux-Arts Salon. Thus, for private academy students, the inability to attend the Ecole des Beaux-Arts was not so great a loss.³

As it happened, the enrollment of women in the various French art academies was a relatively recent occurrence. They could audit classes but could not enjoy full privileges as students. The official acceptance of women students, in the word of one chronicler, required a "regular coup d'état" on their part: the majority of male colleagues were convinced that women had no business there. The arrogantly chauvinistic believed, like writer Octave Mirabeau, that "woman is not a brain, she is a sex. . . . She is not good for anything else but love and motherhood." Mirabeau grudgingly conceded that "some women, rare exceptions, have been able to give, either in art or literature, the illusion that they are creative." But, he concluded, "they are either abnormal or simply reflections of men." Generally, the motive for opposing the admittance of women was a selfish one. Most male academy students did not

really believe the notion of female intellectual inferiority; they simply did not want to compete with women for the scholarships, the cash prizes, and the other honors with which such schools as the École des Beaux-Arts were endowed. Hence, when the national academy formally accepted women students in 1896, a riot nearly ensued. On the November morning of their arrival, hundreds of irate male students gathered outside to insult and throw objects at the women as they entered. The demonstrations that followed were so rumbustious that government authorities closed the painting and sculpture studios until order could be restored--a period of one whole month. Actually, the École des Beaux-Arts was the last bastion of male art education to fall. Shortly beforehand, the academies Julian and Colarossi had yielded to the women's pertentious protests against exclusion. The Académie Julian created a special branch for women artists, while the Académie Colarossi gave them the option of working with men or in separate classes for women.⁴

As a result of the reputation Colarossi apparently acquired for providing an hospitable environment for its female students, the school became a favorite with women studying art in Paris. For example, several of the Exposition's women sculptors, including Camille Claudel, had studied there. It is not surprising, then, that the Académie Colarossi was also Meta Warrick's choice.⁵

In addition to enrolling in art school, Meta had to find a new place to live. In October, when the lease on her apartment expired, she and Ruth Holsey decided to move in together. They found an apartment on the Rue de Bagneaux, near the Bon Marché, which was spacious enough for adjoining studios. Ruth kept her piano in one, Meta, her sculpture tools

in the other. Meta worked there afternoons and went to school mornings.⁶

The Académie Colarossi, where Meta attended classes, was not as structured as the École des Beaux-Arts. Its founder, sculptor Filippo Colarossi, and his son were primarily managers. (By the time Meta studied there, the younger Colarossi probably had taken over most of the responsibilities.) The Colarossis hired teachers and maintained schedules. They were also the ones who went to "model markets," like the one at the Latin Quarter's Place Pigalle, and hired men, and women, or children to sit for their school's pupils. At regular intervals during the year, the academy held concours, sculpture and painting exhibitions which served as examinations of a student's proficiency at executing a prescribed subject.⁷

For approximately eight months, Meta spent her mornings at the academy studying with sculptors Francois Rolard, Henri-Desire Gauquié, who taught head modeling, and Jean-Antonie Injalbert. In the afternoon, Meta worked diligently on wax or clay sketches; sometimes, she sat in on Injalbert's lectures at the École des Beaux-Arts. When the school year ended, Meta continued sculpting alone with no other criticism than that of an artist friend to guide her.

As Meta neared the completion of her second year in Paris, she began worrying about her lack of progress again. The solemn promise to return home in two years that her mother had required in exchange for permission to come to France began to haunt her. Meta felt that she had not accomplished enough in two years to justify coming to Paris at all. Dare she ask for more time? Weeks passed. Meta grew increasingly anxious. When

she could no longer stand the uncertainty, she wrote her mother, pleading for just one more year. To her surprise, the answer was yes.

As for Meta's roommate, Ruth was not sure whether she wanted to remain in Paris or return to Atlanta. It seemed to Meta that Ruth was leaning toward going and she did not believe that she could afford to rent their apartment by herself. So Meta and Ruth decided to find a smaller place while Ruth made up her mind. They found a suitable studio in the Rue Daguerre, named for the inventor of the Daguerreotype.⁸

It was about this time, during the summer of 1901, that a German woman friend of Meta arranged her meeting with Auguste Rodin. The friend could have been Paula Modersohn-Becker, a painter who also was studying at Colarossi. But the greater likelihood is that she was Modersohn-Becker's close friend, Clara Westhoff Rilke. Clara, who had married poet and Rodin biographer Rainer Maria Rilke in April, was one of Rodin's students. Like many young sculptors, Meta idolized Rodin and her desire to study in his atelier prompted her acquaintance to ask for the interview on her behalf.⁹

So, on the appointed day, Meta went to Meudon, hoping to persuade Rodin to accept her by showing him examples of her sculpture. Rodin examined every photograph Meta brought but it was her small, clay sketch, Secret Sorrow, that finally impressed him, convincing him of her clear grasp of sculpting's essentials and of her potential as an artist. Perhaps Secret Sorrow was so striking because it was not just an exercise like the sculpture in Meta's photographs. Nor was it a simple reflection of an admiration for Stephen Crane's poetry that compelled her to get up in the middle of the night to model the figure. It was the past few



Fig. 1. The Secret Sorrow

months' frustration that she wrenched out of her being and squeezed into the shape of this little man eating out his heart that made the work powerful. The fact that the piece's finish was rough did not matter to Rodin, he understood that. Once, when criticized for the incomplete appearance of his own work, the sculptor was furious. "What about Nature?" he growled. "Does she ever finish? Does anyone put finishing touches on trees? . . . I shall never again make anything complete." Rodin recognized the strength of Meta's piece in these terms and wanted to help her. But he could not accede to her request to take her on as a student; he already had too many. Instead, the sculptor told her that she could bring any of her work to him for criticism, and that if the sculpture were too cumbersome, he would come to the city.¹⁰

When Rodin finished evaluating Meta's work, he invited her to see his studio, the pavilion that once stood on the Place de l'Alma and now dominated the Villa des Brilliants' garden. Because, unfortunately, Meta's recollection of this part of her visit was not so vivid, one must rely on another's description to experience a guest's amazement upon entering the sculptor's workshop. After his first visit there, Rainer Rilke wrote to his wife, Clara:

It is a tremendously great and strange sight, this vast hall, with its white, dazzling figures looking out from the many high glass-doors like the denizens of an aquarium Some giant glass windows are entirely filled with wonderful fragments from the Porte de l'Enfer. It is indescribable. Acres of fragments lie there. . . . Nudes the size of my hand and bigger, but only bits, scarcely one of them whole: often only a piece of an arm, a piece of leg just as they go together, and the portion of the body which belongs with them.

As Meta and Rodin circulated among the plaster figures, their discussion

of sculpture became more general. Rodin sometimes emphasized his statements by pronouncing the words through his teeth while nodding his head in a way that added further meaning to the conversation. He believed that the manner in which a sculptor used his models was very important. He usually asked his models to ignore him and move around the studio, engaging in natural activities. Then, when he saw them in a position he liked, he would ask them to hold the pose while he sketched them. Meta recalled that Rodin advised her to sculpt in a similar fashion, to choose as models people who did not know how to pose "so that [her] work would be spontaneous." All in all, Meta's afternoon with Rodin was inspirational, for she left the Villa des Brilliants and Meudon feeling her hopes revived.¹¹

2

Her confidence restored, Meta set to work creating new and more fascinating sculpture. One of her aims had always been to explore the psychology of human emotions, a belief in the function of art that she had in common with Rodin. And, under his tutelage, Meta learned to execute these subjects with greater force. Meta started to hold private exhibitions of her pieces and, under Rodin's sponsorship, began to receive the attention in Paris art circles that she so craved. But while Meta's name in connection with Rodin's drew people's attention to her, it was Meta's approach to her art that held their interest. Because she wanted to interpret a wide range of human experience, she refused to limit herself to subjects that were merely aesthetically pleasing. Meta never avoided portrayals because they were ugly or themes because they

were abhorrent. In fact, she often chose to use them to make a philosophical statement. Furthermore, expressing her ideas and emotions through the clay instead of discussing them would become second-nature to Meta and a life-long practice.

The Wretched, the first sculpture of which the public took notice, was an example of this tendency. Actually, it was the final rendition of a theme that Meta had been working on for some time--that is, the way in which mankind deals with suffering. An earlier version was inspired by the poetic lines:

Be still sad heart and cease repining,
Behind the cloud is the sun still shining.

But this was a simplistic and optimistic view. Meta modeled it in high relief as a cloud of suffering humanity. The center of the relief is filled with agonizing beings, but as the viewer's eyes move toward its edges, the look of courage and hope on the figures' faces imply that they have envisioned an end to their distress.¹²

Significantly, in 1900 Sigmund Freud had published The Interpretation of Dreams. Although his book went unnoticed in the year of its publication, it is not inconceivable that by 1901 a few Romantic Symbolist artists were not only aware of its existence but had read it. After all, the same turbulent era that had made their art introspective had given birth to Freud's psychoanalytic approach to medicine. It is also entirely possible that between the first and second rendition of Meta's The Wretched, someone brought Freud's work to her attention because the meaning of the piece became more complex.¹³



Fig. 2. The Cloud

Fig. 3. The Wretched (View A)

Fig. 4. The Wretched (View B)



Now her sculpture took the form of a seven-figure group. This time she seemed to deal directly with depression caused by physical or mental disability. The final version of The Wretched consisted of a mother mourning for the loss of loved ones (Meta had experienced it through the melancholia that her own mother suffered after the death of her first daughter, Virginia, and later, after the death of her husband); an old man emaciated and dying from hunger and disease; a man suffering from guilt; a child suffering from hereditary disease; a woman who is mentally ill; a youth who realizes that the task ahead of him may be too great for his strength or ability; and, seated above them all, a sympathizing philosopher who, in realizing that he is powerless to help them, sinks into despair.

It was this rendering of The Wretched that the French press called "an exposition of horrors." But while art critics interpreted the piece in this way, it also seems to have been a negative commentary on psychoanalysis.¹⁴

If this were the case, Meta's opinion would have corresponded to the attitude of many of Freud's colleagues in the medical profession. What shocked those who knew about his ideas was his theory of the Oedipus Complex. They thought it monstrous (as Freud knew they would) that a child would feel sexual desire for one parent, while wishing the other dead. This notion was contrary to every precept of the prevailing Victorian morality. Thus, it is perfectly understandable that when Meta chose to model Oedipus, she depicted him in the retributive act of self-mutilation.¹⁵



Fig. 5. Oedipus

In February, 1902, the French celebration of the centennial of Victor Hugo's birth gave Meta another opportunity to create another "macabre" piece--The Laughing Man, the main character of Hugo's novel of the same title. Because Meta's work no longer exists, one must look to the author's text for clues to what her depiction of Gwynplaine, the carnival freak and mountebank, might have been.

According to appearance, industrious manipulators of children [Comprachicos] had worked on his face. It seemed evident that a mysterious and probably occult science (which was to surgery what alchemy was to chemistry) had chiselled his flesh, evidently at a very tender age, and created this contenance intentionally. This science . . . had enlarged the mouth, cut away the lips, laid bare the gums, distended the ears, displaced the eyelids and the cheeks, enlarged the zygomatic muscle, pressed the scars and cicatrices to a level, and turned back the skin over the lesions while the face was thus distorted,--from all which resulted that wonderful and appalling work of art, the mask which Gwynplaine wore.

That mask consisted of:

. . . a mouth opening to his ears, ears folding over his eyes, a shapeless nose to support the spectacles of the grimace maker and a face that no one could look upon without laughing.

If Meta's Laughing Man approximated this in its appearance, it truly could be considered another horror.¹⁶

But, was Meta Warrick's intention only to shock the viewer? As with The Wretched, it is necessary to see beyond the grotesqueness of the sculpture in order to understand its real meaning. One might ask why, of all the characters which Victor Hugo created, Meta chose to portray this one. It is almost certain that she was drawn to Gwynplaine because like skin-color, Gwynplaine's laugh, in Hugo's words, the "laugh which he had not placed on brow he was powerless to remove. His laugh

had been stamped indelibly on his face. . . ." Furthermore, Meta must have found the similarities between the Laughing Man's plight and that of people of color in her own country moving. She lived in an era of American history when black people were invariably portrayed as slow, lazy dullards with saucer eyes, thick lips, and wide grins: "Sambo" was the national jester. Cruel stereotypes and crude caricatures of Afro-Americans, some insidious and all destructive, were everywhere. They were perpetuated in minstrel shows; on the stage; in books, magazines, and newspapers; on the labels of commercial products; and even in the form of toys and games for children. Likewise, it "was Gwynplaine's laugh," Hugo wrote, "that so excited the mirth of others. . . ."17

But he also wrote that although Gwynplaine's "face laughed; his thoughts did not. . . . The exterior did not depend on the interior." This idea attracted more than one Afro-American to the story of The Laughing Man. It seemed to have inspired poet Paul Laurence Dunbar to pen the lines:

"We wear the mask that grins and lies,
It hides our cheeks and shades our eyes,--
This debt we pay to human guile;
With torn and bleeding hearts we smile,
And mouth with myriad subtleties."

Dunbar spoke of the lives of pretense and accommodation that black folk were forced to endure in order to survive their hostile environment. Although Meta was familiar with his poem, his theme was not the core of her truth.¹⁸

Considering her turn of mind, for Meta, the real tragedy of the story of Gwynplaine was the consequence of the public's attitude toward his "mask."

"whatever Gwynplaine was, whatever he wished to be, whatever he thought, the moment he raised his head the crowd (if crowd there was) had before them an impersonation--an overwhelming burst of laughter. It was like a head of Medusa, but Medusa hilarious. Every serious feeling or thought in the mind of the spectator, was suddenly put to flight by the unexpected apparition, and laughter was inevitable."

In the same manner, popular stereotypes of black Americans fostered the notion that people of color were less than human and that, as such, their thoughts and feelings were not worth serious consideration. This was the real horror that Meta's sculpture symbolized.¹⁹

Based upon his own experiences as a writer, Dunbar's poem is bitter: "We smile, but, O great Christ, our cries / To Thee from tortured souls arise. / We sing, but oh, the clay is vile / Beneath our feet, and long the mile: / But let the world dream otherwise / We wear the mask." And he retreats broodingly: "Why should the world be otherwise, / In counting all our tears and sighs? / Nay, let them only see us, while / We wear the mask." On the other hand, Meta Warrick's interpretation was probably different in tone. At a time when she was witness to the increasing activity of American blacks in organizing themselves to fight oppression in national and international arenas, Gwynplaine's defiant warning to the British House of Lords, no doubt, had special meaning for her. There he said:

"This laugh means hate, enforced silence, rage, despair. This laugh was produced by torture. This laugh is forced Oh, all-powerful men, fools that you are! open your eyes. I am the incarnation of All. I represent humanity as its masters have made it. Mankind is mutilated. . . . In the lower classes, right, justice, truth, reason, intelligence, have been deformed in me; their hearts have been made a sink of passion and pain, like mine, and their features, like mine, have been hidden in a mask of joy. . . . But there will come an ominous thaw,

in which that which was as stone will become a wave. A crack in the ice, and all is over. There will come an hour when a convulsion will break down your oppression; when an angry roar will reply to your jeers. . . . Tremble! The solution of the problem is at hand: the talons which were cut are growing again; the tongues which were torn out are floating in the air; they are turning to tongues of fire, and scattered by the breath of darkness, are shouting through infinity; those who hunger are showing their teeth; false firmaments built over real hells, are tottering . . . the damned are discussing the elect Yes, all these things are in this laugh of mine, at which you sneer to-day! London is one perpetual fête. Be it so. England rings with acclamations from end to end. Well! but listen. You have your fêtes,--they are my laugh; you have your weddings, consecrations, and coronations,--they are my laugh. The births of your princes are my laugh. But above you is the thunderbolt,--that too is my laugh."²⁰

Before he left Paris, Professor W.E.B. DuBois had suggested that Meta "make a specialty of Negro types." Although she considered his advice "well meant," Meta told DuBois that she did not believe that she could specialize in that way. Even so, being a person of color obviously affected her perception of the world. Moreover, although Meta chose not to concentrate on black portraiture, she did comment on the black experience within the context of generally acceptable visual images--in this instance, cloaked in the allegory of Victor Hugo's The Laughing Man.²¹

Because The Laughing Man and The Wretched were such bold pieces, the art community began to perceive Meta Warrick as being a different kind of woman artist. The French art press named her "the delicate sculptor of horrors" and waited to see what she would do next.

As a result of the attention Meta received in French art circles, the Americans also took notice of her. The American Woman's Art Association of Paris invited her to participate in its annual exhibition.

The association, whose President was Mary MacMonnies, originated in the early 1890s as a sketch club for young, women students, but by 1902, only American citizenship and the ability to paint or sculpt well enough to pass the jury were required. This year's judges were painters H.S. Bisbing, S. Seymour Thomas, and Henry Ossawa Tanner, Meta's Paris "guardian." Ironically, the Woman's Art Association held its exhibit at the American Girls' Club, the same hostel that had denied Meta lodging when she first arrived in Paris. But now, she had made such a strong showing as an artist that she could no longer be ignored. In fact, although there were many painters displaying their work, according to the New York Herald's Paris edition, Meta Vaux Warrick had "the distinction of being the only sculptor represented." Of the sculpture she exhibited, the one that the Herald chose to photograph for its American readers was a rather benign plasticene bust entitled John.

An individual who saw it several years later considered it Meta's "most haunting creation." Interpreting the bust as a representation of John the Baptist, the viewer described the prophet, "with head upraised and eyes looking into the eternal," as rising "above all things" and soaring "into the divine."²²

Like John, most of the sculpture Meta produced after The Wretched and The Laughing Man was mild by comparison. She modeled a female portrait, Head of Sylvia, probably based on her favorite song, "Who is Sylvia?"; The Bouquet, which undoubtedly was charming; a jovial Falstaff; and The Dancing Girl, a joyful, little piece which bore a strange resemblance to her brother's "big-footed fairy."

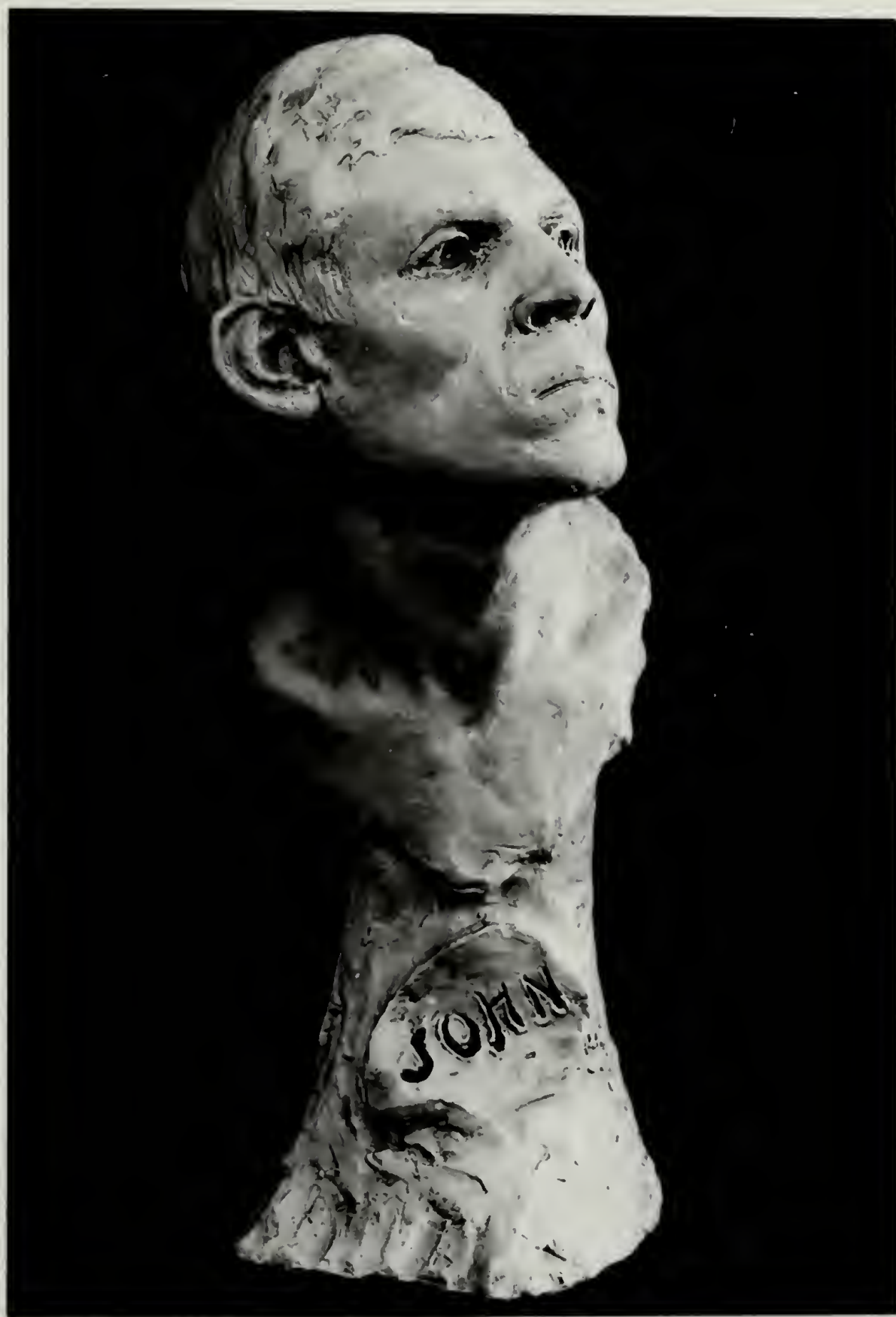


Fig. 6. John



Fig. 7. The Dancing Girl

Samuel Bing, a famous art connoisseur who had taken an interest in Meta's work, bought the last two pieces. Bing was a well-known expert on, and dealer in oriental antiques before he turned to the advocacy of the new decorative art. While he liked The Bouquet for its decorative qualities, he found the animation and human interest of The Dancing Girl particularly appealing.²³

As in the case of Dancing Girl, Meta sometimes reworked themes that were fairly common in sculpture. Further examples were Man with a Thorn [in his foot]; The Wrestlers, two combatants attempting to throw one another over a cliff; and Silenus, a humorous lesson on the consequences of intemperance. She might have created the latter in the Spring of 1902, following sculptor Jules Dalou's death. Dalou was a former classmate of Rodin and one of France's most respected artists. Shortly after his death, several articles on his life and work appeared in French art journals. One of his featured pieces was Triomphe de Silène in which a group of intoxicated revelers have somehow managed to seat Silenus, a rotund, equally inebriated cohort, crowned with grape leaves, on the back of an uncooperative ass. In Meta's group, a satyr stumbles as he tries, with the help of a faun, to stand up carrying Silenus on his shoulders. Silenus was also the first of several sculptures reflecting Meta's reawakening fascination with ancient mythologies, another frequent source of artistic inspiration. Possibly, Rodin influenced both her renewed interest and her approach to the subject. As a Romantic Symbolist, Rodin admired mythology because he thought it to be the highest expression of emotive thought. As such, he believed its primitive symbols revealed the psychology of human feeling. Also, he believed

that one of an artist's primary functions was to create new mythological images. The development of a similar conceptualization of art and mythology is evident in the simple Silenus and the more complex Oedipus, the later work. While Silenus was a direct depiction of a Roman, saturnal celebration, the sculptor used Oedipus to represent an abhorrent, modern social theory. Therefore, when critics saw her Oedipus, they praised it for its originality as well as for its anatomical correctness.²⁴

Oedipus was a "spasm" (as the press liked to call Meta Warrick's unsettling sculpture) in a body of work that, on the whole, was calm and good-natured. Yet, from time to time, there were full outbreaks of the macabre. Meta seized an opportunity to tell a ghost story with Corpse-Candles, based on the age-old superstition that the small, lambent flames or balls of fire sometimes visible in a graveyard were omens of eminent death.* Then, during a devilish twist of whimsy, she conjured up everyone's nightmare, the Grim Reaper, in a piece entitled Death in the Wind. In this work, Fate has cheated the Reaper of his victim and has turned him out-of-doors. Even so, he rattles onward with a chilling grin on his face because he knows that this is only a temporary defeat, that someday he must be readmitted, and that even now, another door is opening to him.²⁵

While Death in the Wind was a product of caprice, Carrying the Dead Body was the result of Meta's serious reflections on the question of the

*Corpse-candle in a cemetery was, in fact, a natural phenomenon. It was a form of ignis fatuus, the spontaneous combustion of gases exhaled from decaying bodies.

degree to which duty should motivate one. She modeled her answer in the form of a soldier toting the corpse of a comrade which has lain on the battlefield for days. Even though the decomposing body is nauseating, her hero has lashed it onto his shoulder and now staggers under its dead weight as he searches for a decent burial place. Meta believed that an individual should fulfill an obligation, whether to himself or to another, "no matter how unpleasant, without a murmur." In asserting this, she took a theme which traditionally symbolized dedication to duty--the valiant soldier--and composed a variation on it. Rather than glorifying warfare, she chose to depict its horror. Later, when asked why she had used such a morbid subject to philosophize about commitment, Meta explained: "My work is of the soul rather than the figure . . . sometimes the figure must be very crude in order to carry the full strength of the spiritual meaning."²⁶

The imagery of Carrying the Dead Body may have been crude but not its execution. The positioning of the figures and the freedom with which Meta had worked the surfaces showed an artistic maturity equal to that of sculptors much older than herself. For example, in terms of visual texture, Carrying the Dead Body was reminiscent of François Sicard's The Good Samaritan.

Meta's imagery was as traditional in its function as it was unconventional in its appearance. The "noble mission" of artists, according to Edouard Gerard, an admirer of Meta's sculpture, was to accurately mirror society's soul "in all its fantasy and in its unnumerable aspects" and he interpreted her bizarre leanings in this content. "Serenity and peace have deserted our homelands," he wrote, and "the



Fig. 8. Carrying the Dead Body

epoch of grand, calm gestures, of simple thoughts, and of naive hearts" is ended. Gerard believed contemporary society to be so "restless and uneasy" that "the reign of insanity" was at hand. Therefore, the need for cultural self-analysis led "the impassioned individualism of our century" to devote "itself to the translation of the most complex feelings and of the most intimate movements of the spirit. . . ." Consequently, art reflected "all this feverish and seething life, these more or less morbid occurrences with surprising intensity." But, in order to accomplish this, the language of art had to be transformed. One of the most powerful and expert magicians was Rodin whom Gerard credited with devising words that "have already become the clear incantation by which our time is called to mind." Gerard realized that there were many young artists who, in their own way, were seeking to follow Rodin's example, but was fascinated to discover women of rare talent among them. Thus, with a sense of wonder, he noted that "the mighty, heaving breath of the century is incarnate in frail natures, and light fingers have molded earth to speak of our sufferings, our anguished, and to affirm in precious images the rhythm of our hearts." He considered Meta one of the best, new women sculptors and remarked that "under her strong and supple hands, the clay has leapt into form and tumultuous life forced itself into the cold material."²⁷

The "sense of form, originality of vision, audacious tranquility, and force of expression" that Edouard Gerard saw in Meta's sculpture were reasons why a group of notable artists asked her to participate in their private exhibition--the only American and the only woman to be invited. This independent art show was the general public's first

introduction to her work.²⁸

Not long afterward, art dealer Samuel Bing invited Meta to display a collection of her pieces at his L'Art Nouveau Gallery. In years past, Bing had sponsored artists and designers who were some of the best-known proto-theorists of modern art: Aubrey Beardsley, Camille Pissaro, Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec, Anders Zorn, Emile Galle, Louis Comfort Tiffany, Walter Crane, Henry Van De Velde, Mary Cassatt, Charles Rennie Mackintosh, René Lalique, and Auguste Rodin. Being offered an exhibition at 22 Rue de Provence, more than the previous showing, was a significant event in Meta's career because it not only denoted her importance as a rising, young artist, but exposed her sculpture to wealthy patrons who could fully appreciate her originality.²⁹

One afternoon, while Meta was at the Art Nouveau Bing, helping to set up her exhibit, a middle-aged gentleman approached her and engaged her in a lengthy conversation about the sculpture therein. The inquirer was impressed by what he saw and Meta was equally flattered by his interest in her work. As he left the gallery, he told her that he was "an old soldier of Spain" and that if she "ever needed any influence in that country," she "had only to call upon him." Without further comment, he handed her his calling-card. When Meta looked at the engraving on it, she read: Colonel Louis Figueroli Ferretti, Chamberlain to the King of Spain. For a moment, Meta stood frozen with astonishment; but then she turned from distracting thoughts of the encounter and continued with the arrangement of her statuary.³⁰

Meta had selected twenty-two sculptures for her exhibit, exemplifying her thematic range. She had included all of the macabre pieces for

which she was known: Secret Sorrow, her first success; The Wretched, her psychological study of despair; Carrying the Dead Body; The Laughing Man, her tribute to Victor Hugo; Oedipus; and Death in the Wind. There, too, were most of the sculptor's gentler works, for example, John, Sylvia, Silenus, and Falstaff. Monsieur Bing had lent the pieces that he had bought, The Bouquet and Dancing Girl. The companion statues Primitive Woman and Primitive Man were comparatively recent as were Female Dancer and Oriental Dancer. Meta also had chosen to display works-in-progress. One was a sketch for a monument featuring the Sphinx as its central figure. Like Oedipus, it was a result of her fascination with mythologies, but, in this case, an African mythology with which she felt a special affinity. Another work-in-progress was a plaster model entitled The Impenitent Thief, a recurrence of the Crucifixion theme in her sculpture.

The Warrick Exhibition opened in June, 1902. Edouard Gerard, who agreed to write the introduction to the catalogue, let visitors know that they could expect to see "a talent of the rarest kind and a sensitivity of the most precious kind" revealed in Meta's sculpture. Gerard noted that in her unrelenting search for the type of movement that creates lines, Meta could conceive and execute her pieces "with a singular force." He offered The Impenitent Thief as proof, calling it bold and striking, her most ambitious project to date. Gerard admitted that while the execution in some of the works seemed timid, in others "she asserts herself with a rare audacity." He saw "joyous life and suppleness" in the "laughing and voluptuous embraces" of Silenus's ardent, young satyr and female fauns. Moreover, he thought The Wretched so



Fig. 9. The Impenitent Thief

great a symbol of modern society that it ought to be enlarged and erected in one of Paris's public squares. Finally, Gerard considered Meta such a gifted, young sculptor that he advised gallery patrons to "remember the name Miss Warrick" because he "would be very surprised if, with so many interesting debuts, it does not rapidly become that of a loved and appreciated talent."³¹

Apparently, Meta's debut was a financial as well as a critical success. American dancer Loie Fuller who, since her appearance at the exposition, had become a personal friend of the artist, acquired Dancing Girl from Samuel Bing. Meanwhile, Bing purchased several more sculptures which included The Wretched and Man with a Thorn. The prices he paid Meta for them enabled her to continue working during the few months remaining to her in Paris without financial worry.³²

One of Meta's most important objectives during the remaining time was to perfect and complete The Impenitent Thief. For weeks she worked diligently on her project. She enlarged the statue into a life-size plaster. But before Meta could further refine it and have it cast in bronze, she became ill and had to stop working. Even so, she had succeeded in creating a malevolent manifestation of the absence of Divine Grace in her unrepentent robber. A friend who later saw a photograph of the figure thought it "almost frightful in its realism." To her, "the face in the throes of death" was "the embodiment of human terror." Rodin believed that even in its unfinished condition, The Impenitent Thief deserved a place in the Société National des Beaux Arts Salon. Therefore, he used his influence to get it accepted there. Meta, however, did not know how well-received it was until after her return to

America.³³

By October, Meta was back in the United States. Nearly three years had passed since she had left Philadelphia for Paris, feeling somewhat unequal to the challenges that lay ahead. Still, in spite of the insecurity with which she had begun her French odyssey, Meta returned to her native city as an accomplished artist whom proud black Philadelphians proclaimed "the youngest and best sculptress of the Race." To them, she was "the only colored woman sculptor in the world." Of course, Meta was not the only talented black woman sculptor in America, let alone the world, but to black Philadelphians and, as her notoriety spread, to other black Americans, Meta's achievements were especially significant. At a time when white American society believed African-Americans incapable of making cultural contributions because of race, she, unlike most of her black colleagues, had succeeded in one of Europe's leading cultural centers. Furthermore, Auguste Rodin, generally considered to be the world's greatest sculptor, had attested to her artistic gifts. So Meta came home a celebrity. And, black Philadelphians welcomed the news that she was going to open a studio in their city and echoed a Parisian critic's appraisal that if she worked long enough, Meta would prove to have not only talent but genius.³⁴

CHAPTER VII

CROSSROADS

Meta's homecoming had been wonderful. She had spent weeks relaxing and exchanging visits with relatives and friends. To family and acquaintances who had not seen her for years, she was more flamboyant than ever; the clothes she wore had become more stylish than before she had gone to Paris. Furthermore, Meta's friends thought her newly acquired habit of wearing more jewelry than was customary among the other women that they knew made her look like a gypsy. She was so "bohemian"--so "arty." And those who gathered around her marveled as she detailed aspects of her Parisian life that she had only been able to outline in her letters.¹

Once Meta readjusted to the rhythm of daily life in Philadelphia, she was ready to begin establishing herself professionally in her native city. Her first step was to select her best sculpture that had received positive notice overseas and to start making rounds of various commercial galleries. Meta knew that attaining acceptance from the elitist circles of American art had always been difficult for blacks, but she hoped the admiration her statuary had garnered in Paris, especially Rodin's endorsement, would represent a rite-of-passage, enabling her to move immediately into the mainstream. To her astonishment, local dealers showed no interest in her creations. They did not buy "domestic" pieces, they told her. But the works she had brought them were not

domestic; she had done them in Paris. This made no difference whatever and the gallery owners' refusal to consider even one of her critically recognized Paris sculptures forced Meta to conclude that had she been white, they would have been anxious to accept them.²

Being rejected disappointed Meta but did not discourage her. In fact, she became more resolute than ever to succeed. She put all her energies into her craft. Furthermore, she returned to the classroom from time to time, in order to improve her skills. For instance, in 1903 Meta went back to the Pennsylvania Museum School. She did so well in Ceramics that in the Spring of 1904, she won the Battles First Prize for Pottery in the end-of-the-year competitions. The Battles Prize was not the only way in which the Pennsylvania Museum School honored Meta. Unlike city art dealers, the museum school's officials were so impressed with her achievements abroad that they invited her to serve as an alumni member of its Board of Control.³

Because of the increasing work that returning to the classroom created, it became obvious to Meta that she needed to find a place away from home where she could concentrate without distractions and where she would have enough space to give private lessons, should she have the inclination. When her maternal aunt, Mary Elizabeth Lewis, heard about her search, she offered to help. Aunt Liz had treated Meta like her own child since the day she had helped to deliver her. Now, twenty-seven years later, Aunt Liz was even more anxious to be the guiding force in her artist niece's life. So, when she learned that Meta was looking for a studio, she thought the vacant second-floor of the brick livery stable she owned on South Camac Street would be perfect. South Camac was a

short, eight-feet-wide cartway, paved with belgian and wooden blocks. And, although out-of-towners who glanced down it might perceive an unimportant alley, Philadelphians like Mary Lewis knew it to be lined with establishments housing prestigious organizations. "The Little Street of Clubs," as they called Camac Street, was the site of the Business and Professional Club, for example. It was also the home of such literary groups as Poor Richard and the Franklin Inn, and such art societies as The Sketch Club and the Women's Plastics Club. Thus, Aunt Liz could assure Meta that while rooms over a stable might seem inelegant for a "lady" artist, it was situated on one of Philadelphia's most fashionable streets.

Meta did not need much convincing of the advantages of opening a studio there. The location might be just what she needed to help stimulate public interest in her sculpture. So, before long, she was moving into her loft--unpacking her tools, uncrating the unsold pieces she had shipped from Europe, but for which she had found no convenient space at home, and putting everything in its place. Soon after that, Meta was at work again; and by the livery doorway on the street below, there was a plaque announcing Number Two-Ten's latest occupant to Camac Street passersby.⁴

Much of the sculpture Meta produced during the four years after returning to America still reflected European thematic influences. This was true, in part, because she was able to maintain contact with the artist community in Paris for a while. Samuel Bing followed her progress in the states for a number of years. He would write to inquire if she had any new pieces that he could reproduce and sell. Her reply is

unknown. Yet the titles of her early works show that they were similar to those which she had exhibited at L'Art Nouveau Bing in 1902. Meta created a number of figurines that were pleasing aesthetically. Among these was The Brittany Peasant, a sentimental memoire that she created in 1903 and that recalled a familiar French country scene: a woman dressed in a linen cap, a shawl, and oversized, wooden shoes, with a basket balanced on her hip, making her way down a village lane. There was also a dance group on an American theme, entitled The Two-Step. A more ambitious piece of sculpture, but one that Meta never completed, was The Scandalmonger. She had almost finished it when she happened to see a photograph of Rodin's She who was once the Helmet-Maker's Beautiful Wife in a magazine. When Meta realized how much The Scandalmonger resembled Rodin's "Old Beauty," she feared that the admiration she felt for the master sculptor had led her, subconsciously, to recreate his figure in her own. Without hesitation, Meta seized a mallet and destroyed her statue with one blow.

She had no such qualms about The Three Gray Women, her depiction of the Graeae, the cannibalistic, Perseus legend witches, who would have been blind except for the single, disembodied eye that they shared. This statuary group might have been like Rodin's stylistically; but the grotesqueness of the subject was the characteristic that continued to denote Meta's individuality in the field of sculpture.⁵

Although European thematic influences were still strongly visible in Meta's sculpture of 1903, the more involved she became in black American intellectual and social life, the more black American themes inspired her. The Comedian, a study representing black song-and-dance

man George Walker, is a good example of this transition. To many black Americans, Walker was a matinee idol. His high style of living and his attraction to women were legendary. In 1896 George Walker and his partner, Bert Williams, had been responsible for the Cake-Walk, the current dance fad when Meta was a teenager. When she returned from Europe, Walker and Williams were on the stage in the musical comedy, In Dahomey. They played Boston detectives named Shylock Homestead and Rareback Pinkerton, whom the president of the Dahomey Colonization Society, Cicero Lightfoot, had hired to find a treasure chest he had lost. During their madcap adventures, the bumbling detectives met African royalty, got into trouble for which they were sentenced to death, but were saved in the happy ending because they had made friends with the King along the way. Walker and Williams first got the idea for In Dahomey in 1893, when they were recruited to fill-in for Dahomeans who were late for their appearance as part of a living African exhibit at the San Francisco Fair. Their eventual arrival was the first time the comedic actors had seen real Africans. George Walker recalled later that the Dahomeans were so dignified and so impressive that he and Bert Williams decided that "if we ever reached the point of having a show of our own, we would delineate and feature African characters as far as we could, and still remain American, and make our acting interesting and entertaining to American audiences." They were unable to escape the racial stereotypes that amused white audiences because they were dependent on white theatre owners for bookings. Nevertheless, black theatre-goers like Meta could enjoy In Dahomey because at a time when they, too, were beginning to rediscover and appreciate their African roots, the actors did what they

could to break free of traditional minstrel imagery and cast a more realistic spotlight on African power, African elegance, and African beauty.⁶

Unlike The Comedian, most of Meta's portraits were of individuals that she knew personally. (Actually, they were the sculptor's most available models.) William Thomas, her girlhood companion, was among those who sat for her as she refined her technique. By using mirrors, she even modeled a bust of herself. One of her first important undertakings was Portrait of the Late William Still. Still, who had died in July, 1902, had been a prominent member of Philadelphia's black community. The coal dealer had been a warrior against slavery, had written a history of the Underground Railroad, and had continued to be a civil rights activist in later life. Doing the bust filled Meta's need to recognize Still's contributions to African-American freedom and African-American political and social equality. The portrait might also have been a commission from the Still family which Meta had known all of her life. Caroline, the abolitionist's daughter, was her close friend.⁷

Although the greater part of Meta's patronage came from black Philadelphians, her most significant and on-going project came from an outside source. In 1907 the State of Virginia planned to celebrate the tercentennial of the founding of the Jamestown Settlement with an international exposition. On August 13, 1903, the Corporation of Virginia chartered the Negro Development and Exposition Company. Headquartered in Richmond and composed initially of black men from Virginia and the District of Columbia, the NDEC proposed to organize and oversee African-American exposition exhibits. Furthermore, according to its charter,

its intention was to show "what the race . . . has done--that the world may form a correct opinion of this country--to the end that a proper solution of the 'problem' may be had from a business, commercial, financial and industrial standpoint; and that the unjust critics of the Negroes may be silenced." In other words, the promoters of the Negro Exhibition, many of whom were leaders in the black business community, planned to use the Jamestown Ter-Centennial Exposition as a forum in which black America might "place itself properly upon record as endeavoring to improve its condition and to be a support to the State and general government instead of a burden and hindrance . . . that in accordance with the uncertain and unsatisfactory conditions now existing as to the Negro in this country . . . a creditable exhibit of his industrial capacities would result in untold good to the entire race. . . ."

It happened that two of Meta's old acquaintances were members of the NDEC's executive committee--Andrew F. Hilyer and Thomas J. Calloway, both of whom she had met at the Paris Exposition. In fact, it was Thomas Calloway who had first mentioned the Jamestown Exposition to Meta, back in 1900. Meta and Calloway had gone to see a Catholic Church exhibit composed of dioramas, at the Paris Exposition. When Calloway saw the life-size figures, he said to Meta: "in a few years we're going to have an exhibition at Jamestown and I would like to have something of this sort, only on a smaller scale, to represent the Negro from the landing at Jamestown." Thomas Calloway, Andrew Hilyer, and their wives remained Meta's friends because they were members of the same social enclave in Washington, D.C., as Blanche and Francis Cardozo, her sister and brother-in-law. Therefore, once the Negro Development and Exposition

Company became a reality, Calloway, as its General Agent, was in a position to offer Meta a commission to create historical tableaux for Jamestown.⁸

For black America, the whole idea of participating in the Jamestown Exposition had not been without controversy. Some black leaders objected vehemently to celebrating or acknowledging in any way the anniversary of the Jamestown Settlement, where, they believed, chattel slavery was first introduced into America. Others simply believed that to create a separate Negro exhibition deliberately would be to continue accommodating Virginian Jim Crow unnecessarily. The exhibit's proponents' reply to the latter argument was that the credit for anything they might show would surely be lost to them in a general exhibition; they would need one person to stand beside each article and swear that a Negro made it, and ten others to swear an oath that they believed the witness. Of course, this rebuttal did nothing to quiet the NDEC's critics. As for Meta, her agreement to take part in the exposition by creating dioramas for the Negro Exhibit was an indication that she had more faith than the exhibit's detractors in the Negro Development and Exposition Company's ability to carry out its objectives.

But the NDEC discovered its opponents' strength when it began canvassing black organizations for endorsements. NDEC representatives sought support from the African Methodist Episcopal Church Conferences, the National Baptist Convention as well as the Baptist Conventions in the various states, and to Booker T. Washington and the National Negro Business League. Although the NDEC was able to obtain support from several state branches of the National Negro Business League--Florida,

Georgia, and Mississippi, for example, Booker T. Washington, as president of the national association, denied them his endorsement.⁹

The negative publicity the Negro Exhibition received as a result of criticism and Washington's refusal to give his blessing to the plan was unquestionably detrimental to the NDEC's fund-raising efforts. It had been trying to raise money by asking the Southern states scheduled to participate in the Jamestown Exposition to set aside a portion of their appropriation for the Negro Exhibit and by selling small shares of stock to Southern blacks. When the time that the NDEC designated as its fund-raising period began to run out, and the company had received no positive response from the Southern states, it decided to ask the Federal government for financial aid. On February 17, 1905, the Negro Development and Exposition Company petitioned the Congressional Committee on Industrial Arts and Expositions for the funding it needed to carry out its operations. Subsequently, it also came to believe that the best way to assure the money was to enlist the aid of the President of the United States. Until that time, little was known about the interaction between Meta and the NDEC during the two years following its incorporation. But in April, 1905, Meta and the NDEC's officers--President William Isaac Johnson; Rev. Andrew Binga, Vice President; Secretary Robert Kelser, Treasurer Robert T. Hill; Director-General Giles B. Jackson; and General Agent Thomas Calloway--called on President Theodore Roosevelt to ask his assistance in securing a Congressional appropriation.¹⁰

The NDEC members were politically active and it is likely that Roosevelt knew them, at least by reputation. Giles Beecher Jackson, for example, a successful Richmond attorney and an associate of Booker T.

Washington in the National Negro Business League, was reputed to have known every American president since Ulysses S. Grant. (During the Reconstruction period, Grant had created a black political ward in Richmond, Virginia, at Jackson's request.) Thus, when Jackson and the others explained their plans for black participation in the Jamestown Exposition, Roosevelt showed keen interest and promised to help them. To Meta, whose sculptural assignment depended ultimately on the government grant, this pledge of support was encouraging. But, like the others, she had to wait over a year for the final outcome of their meeting.¹¹

Meanwhile, Meta continued to sculpt and to hold exhibitions of her works in her Philadelphia studio. She also accepted invitations from community organizations and, periodically, from local art schools to take part in their art shows. For example, in 1906 she sent her Portrait from Mirrors to the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts for its 101st Annual Exhibition.¹²

Yet while Meta was able to sustain interest in her artwork among black Americans and in the white academic community, there was still no demand for it in the mass market. Meta faced a dilemma. On the one hand, blacks appreciated her talent, but those who could afford to buy art were too few to be a dependable source of economic support. On the other hand, the indifference to her sculpture among Philadelphia's dealers in art still existed; and Meta continued to believe that it was based purely on race.

Even though racial discrimination was undoubtedly a major factor in her personal experience, there were influences broader than race or gender, such as conditions within the art market itself, that affected



Fig. 10. Portrait from Mirrors

Meta's inability to persuade art dealers to purchase her sculpture.

Turn-of-the-century Philadelphians were conservative culturally. Novelist Owen Wister, a resident of that city, spoke of their unwillingness to accept new artistic ideas. "When in Boston any fellow citizen paints a picture or writes a book, he is approached and fostered for Boston's sake and in Boston's name," he wrote. "We in Philadelphia . . . seem to distrust our own power to do anything out of the common and when a young man tries to, our minds close against him with a civic instinct for disparagement."¹³

Wister was correct, but only in part. The civic instinct for disparagement was nation-wide and was promoted by the art establishment itself. Almost fifty years earlier, Erastus Dow Palmer defined the sculptor's role: "The mission of the sculptor's art is not to imitate forms alone, but through them to reveal the purest and best of our nature . . . no work in sculpture however well wrought out physically results in excellence unless it rests upon, and is sustained by dignity of a moral or intellectual intention. This was the credo by which nearly every American sculptor lived. The first wave of American, Beaux-Arts sculptors--Augustus Saint-Gaudens, Daniel Chester French, and Frederick MacMonnies, for example--equated Palmer's concept of the "ideal" with monumental, public statuary. This first generation, backed by the nation's leading art associations, was so successful in propagandizing this sculptural form that by the end of the nineteenth century, the general public thought of sculpture only in those terms. Consequently, because the public had been conditioned to visualize sculpture only on a grandiose scale, it no longer wanted small, homey pieces. And, because it had been

conditioned to think sculpture should only reflect lofty and heroic ideals, it now considered realistic genre statuary, particularly if it were based on social observation, to be ugly and uninspiring. For a few second wave, American, Beaux-Arts sculptors like Meta Warrick, who specialized in small, socially relevant bronzes, the current aesthetic trend was disastrous. Within this framework, the Philadelphia art dealers' declaration to Meta that they did not buy "domestic" art takes on new meaning. And, in a society that considered social art ugly, one can picture the shock of Philadelphia gallery owners--those barometers of popular tastes--when Meta brought them a group such as The Three Gray Women. They must have been convinced that she was certifiably crazy. Thus, their refusal to purchase her works was far more than racism on their part: they could not imagine that the statuary of an eccentric, "colored" woman would sell.¹⁴

For Meta, being rejected by the art establishment was disconcerting. Her commission to do the Jamestown tableaux might make her work more acceptable eventually, but even though Congress had approved and President Roosevelt had signed the bill allocating the Negro Development and Exposition Company's money on July 30, she had yet to receive her contract from the company. Furthermore, because, in her own words, she "wasn't making money hand over fist," Meta seemed a disappointment to her mother and to her Aunt Liz, both of whom were supporting her financially. Although making money had never been her primary career motivation, Meta, who was almost thirty, had hoped for a degree of financial independence. Instead, sculpting had been so unprofitable that she occasionally had to help her mother in the beauty salon in exchange for room and board.

Naturally, Meta considered this tedious chore a regression. This and the fight to make a success of the profession to which she had sworn to dedicate her life, tired and depressed her. By late summer, 1906, her strain was obvious to her family.¹⁵

Emma Warrick, Meta's mother, and Aunt Liz were extremely worried about her. Not only was she tired and sulky; to them, it seemed she was never going to make a decent living. What to do about her became a major topic of discussion between the two.

Once again, Aunt Liz took charge. She told Meta that she looked tired and needed some time off. Meta agreed and planned to join her sister Blanche at the family summer home in Atlantic City. Yet Aunt Liz pointed out that going there would be no vacation at all. She was convinced that being in the same house with Blanche and her small children would not be restful. No, Meta needed a holiday away from the family. Meta trusted the purity of her aunt's concern for her health and well-being; so when Aunt Liz told her that she had a friend in New Bedford, Massachusetts with whom she might stay, Meta agreed to go there. But Aunt Lizzie had motives other than seeing that Meta escape work pressures. Upper-class black Americans still maintained an extensive, social network; and to her way of thinking, New Bedford was a place on the social circuit where Meta might find the right man for marriage.¹⁶

2

Meta left for New Bedford during the latter part of August. She did not remain more than a fortnight, however, because the tourist season was nearly over when her retreat began. So, the day after Labor Day, Meta

traveled on to Boston to visit the Lee family. Joseph Lee, a black Maryland native who was related to Robert E. Lee, was a businessman with a variety of interests. In his lifetime, Lee had been the proprietor of the Woodland Park Hotel in Auburndale, Massachusetts, and the Squantum Inn in Squantum, Massachusetts. He also owned a catering business in Boston. Just as Meta's grandfather, Henry Jones, had been able to boast of having catered a banquet for the Prince of Wales, Lee numbered several Presidents of the United States among the patrons of his Boylston Street restaurant. For Lee, inventing was an avocation which resulted in at least two small but important contributions to American technology. In 1894 he was responsible for the first bread kneading machine, which sanitized the mixing process by making human contact with the dough unnecessary. He followed this invention with a bread crumber in 1895. In addition, Lee had been an associate of Francis Blake and had worked with him to perfect the telephone transmitter. Old friends of Meta's family, Joseph and Chrintina Lee insisted that she be their house guest during the two months she was to stay in Boston.¹⁷

Meta was pleased to discover that former United States Consul to Santo Domingo, Archibald Grimké, and his daughter Angelina were also in town. Grimké, the nephew of white abolitionists and women's rights activists Sarah Grimké and her sister Angelina, had named his only child (who was three years younger than Meta) after his notable aunt. Still, family and close friends called her "Nana." Nana and her father were visiting acquaintances in the city where he had begun his career as an attorney and where, in the 1880s, he had edited The Hub, New England's first black weekly newspaper. Meta spent her first week touring Boston

with Nana and Archibald Grimké. And, in their company, her depression began to lift.¹⁸

The following Sunday, they all attended a social gathering at the Lees. Joseph and Christina Lee customarily opened their home to visitors every Wednesday and Sunday. Among the guests introduced to Meta on this particular Sunday afternoon was a tall, thin, fastidiously dressed young man with a neatly trimmed moustache and circular, wire-rimmed glasses. Thirty-four-year-old Solomon Carter Fuller, Jr., was a physician at Westborough State Hospital for the Insane, in Framingham, Massachusetts. Fuller was a close friend of Joseph Lee and liked to visit the family on his days off.

Dr. Fuller, Meta learned, was Liberian by birth. He and his younger brother, Thomas, had been educated on their parents' coffee plantation near Monrovia. Solomon had come to the United States at the age of seventeen in order to continue his education at Livingstone College, a black school in Salisbury, North Carolina. After graduating in 1893, he had entered medical school at Long Island College Hospital in Brooklyn, New York. He had remained in that program for only a short while; a year later, he had moved to Boston and had finished his studies at the Boston University School of Medicine. Fuller had obtained his medical degree in 1897. Then he had interned at Westborough Hospital. Two years later, he had become the Hospital's Chief of Pathology. He also had begun lecturing at Boston University on the structure of the nervous system and its diseases. Fuller, in explaining his hospital duties to Meta, mentioned that his particular interest was Alzheimer's Disease, which caused premature senility.¹⁹

Although Solomon Fuller was somewhat formal in demeanor, Meta thought him an interesting person. The rapport they appeared to have established at the Lee's "open house" did not go unnoticed. The next week, Archibald Grimké arrived at the Lee home with an invitation from Solomon for Mrs. Lee, Meta, and himself to visit his Westborough Hospital laboratory. On Sunday, Meta had learned that Dr. Fuller was a great admirer of Grimké. And, because Grimké was a former member of the asylum's Board of Trustees, she surmised that the doctor thought he would be interested in seeing the way he ran the laboratory facilities. Yet she suspected that Archibald Grimké had been the one to suggest Christina Lee's and her inclusion in the invitation.²⁰

When the Grimké party got to the asylum, Dr. Fuller explained his job as pathologist there. He examined brain tissue and cells, he said, in order to detect changes in them that might account for certain types of abnormal behavior or death. Before he could examine the cells, it was necessary to slice the brain material tissue paper thin. Fuller showed them the machine he used. Then he created a slide. He took Meta and the others over to the laboratory's photomicroscope where he made photomicrographs of the slides. These facilitated the painstaking study of the diseased nerve cells, Fuller told them. Solomon Fuller's skill as a medical photographer impressed Meta. Being of an artistic turn of mind, she suggested that he might like portrait photography as a hobby. Until then, fishing in a pond behind the hospital had been Solomon's only escape from long-difficult hours of research. But Meta's insight that other kinds of picture-taking might be enjoyable was one that he took seriously.²¹

Actually, Meta was so charming on her visit to Framingham that Solomon started coming to the Lee home to see her as well as Joseph. Before long, he had taken over Archibald Grimke's role as her Boston guide. From the middle of September to the end of October, he escorted her wherever she wished, including to the theatre. Meta and Solomon learned much about each other and about their respective professional experiences during those six weeks. For her part, Meta discussed her life as a sculptor, especially her experiences in France and her memorable association with Rodin. Solomon told her that he had spent the past year in Germany, studying under Emil Kraepelin and Alois Alzheimer at the University of Munich's Psychiatric Clinic. Moreover, during that period, he too had been able to meet his own hero, immunologist Paul Erlich. He was sightseeing in Berlin where, by chance, he found himself on Erlich's street and standing in front of Erlich's house. Suddenly, he felt an impulse to knock on the scientist's door to pay his respects. Although he was a complete stranger, Erlich welcomed him in. He was astonished to discover so distinguished a person living by himself and lonely for someone with whom to talk. In fact, the scientist kept him in conversation all afternoon. The time they spent together was one of Fuller's most unforgettable experiences. He mentioned that Erlich and he still corresponded and added that their friendship might never have begun had he not taken a chance and approached his idol. Meta agreed that the encounter must have been exciting indeed.²²

Even though Meta was enjoying spending time with Solomon, the end of October made her return to Philadelphia necessary--that is if she wanted to take advantage of her round trip train ticket. On October 28, her

last Sunday in Boston, Solomon Fuller paid Meta a final visit and asked her to marry him. He had been in love with her since her visit to Framingham, he said. Meta was completely surprised. Asking her to marry him, she said, "wasn't quite fair" because she "had not had a satisfactory life." But Solomon was persistent, and she promised to give him an answer by Christmas.²³

Meta left Boston the following Tuesday. She had much to think about because her feelings toward marriage were ambiguous. Meta had been speaking professionally, for the most part, when she told Solomon that she was not satisfied with her life. She sensed that she was a disappointment to her mother and Aunt Liz because she was not making much money; and she knew that they were right. She had to admit that she had not developed her reputation as a sculptor to the extent that she could attract lucrative or prestigious commissions. Furthermore, she had to consider the possibility that she might never do so if she were obliged to divide her energies between a career and a family. She recalled that friends in Paris had advised her not to marry specifically for this reason. In their opinion, her work would always be more important to her than children. Because they considered her a genius, they concluded that her children could never measure up to her standards. Therefore, she should devote herself entirely to art, not marriage. Despite all that, Meta believed that her "function" as a woman was also "to marry and rear a family." More immediate, however, was Meta's desperate desire to get "out from under that influence, that contest between [her] aunt and [her] mother" for mentorship over her life and career. Meta was aware that her

mother, Emma Warrick, had felt let down by the fact that her older sister Blanche had deserted a promising artistic career to get married. She was not certain at all if her mother would accept her marriage to Dr. Solomon Fuller or to anyone. Meta was so confused that she had no idea what she should do. The only remaining comfort was the knowledge that she had two months to sort her feelings and make her decision.²⁴

The eight weeks went by more quickly than Meta expected. Mindful of her promise to give him an answer by Christmas, Solomon Fuller came to Philadelphia during the holidays to repeat his proposal and to introduce himself to her family. When he asked Meta to marry him this time, she said that she would. Their happiness would have been complete at that moment but for one remaining trial: Meta and Solomon still had to persuade her mother to agree to their engagement.

Whether someone in the family talked to Emma Warrick beforehand and coaxed her toward a positive response will remain a secret. But, by the time Fuller told her that he wanted her daughter's hand in marriage, she managed to say halfheartedly: "Well, I am willing; whatever will make her happy. Whatever will make her happy, I'm willing to abide by." Meta was certain that her mother did not really want to let her go. Still, with this somewhat tenuous concession, Meta officially began her engagement to Solomon Carter Fuller.²⁵

C H A P T E R V I I I

A TURNABOUT

Meta came back to Philadelphia feeling more refreshed than she had in a long while ready to ease back into working. She went to the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts to take a Life Modeling class. There, her teacher was the sculptor known as "the Houdon of our times," Charles Grafly.

When he was young, Charles Grafly had become fascinated with art's Romantic usages. He created many allegorical figures during his early years as a sculptor. These works varied between quickly modeled pieces of sculpture in the style of Rodin and more finished pieces such as Symbol of Life and Vulture of War, both of which Meta saw at the Paris Exposition. In the opinion of his colleague, Lorado Taft, who taught at the Chicago Art Institute, Grafly's unflagging devotion to this symbolist tradition made him an exception. He "persists in developing these fancies of his in spite of their considerable cost," wrote Taft. He "seems to think that this is what sculpture is for,--the expression of one's ideas in form,--and he protests that he does it because he 'must.'"

Although he remained true to the symbolist tradition in sculpture learned in his youth, Grafly turned from the Beaux-Arts style, which depended on surface modeling for its vividness, toward a more personal style based on Naturalism. In the style which he advocated now, the liveliness of the surface originated from the suggestion of muscles and

bones underneath. This revised approach was the foundation of his success as a portrait artist.¹

From October through January, three afternoons a week, Meta watched and listened as Charles Grafly instructed his class in the basic principles of form and structure that he credited with his success. He taught them to build a head from the center and to pay special attention to anatomy. Meta and the others learned never to conceive of a portrait as "consisting of a front view, profile and a rear view" but always to think of a head in the round. With the aid of diagrams illustrating his construction rules, Grafly advised them to take the height and weight of their subjects into consideration and to keep "the relative distance from the chin to the temple, the temple to the back of the skull, [and] the the forehead to the neck" in mind. "You know a man by his build as much as by his features," he would say, "and the back of a head is as revealing as the front." Grafly maintained that once an artist understood internal structure, applying features was easy; and, sometimes he would model a quick figure to prove his point.

Grafly also believed that a sculptor could use an individual's physical make-up to convey that person's character. This method of creating a portrait differed from that which Meta had seen in Rodin's work. Rodin tended to reveal his notion of a subject's personality by using a dramatic facial expression or body position--a physical rendering that might actually distort the figure anatomically. But Charles Grafly's effectiveness as a portrait artist lay in his ability to create a likeness that was both lifelike and psychologically penetrating without exaggerating features or imposing his own interpretation of character on his

sitter.

Meta's class spent Mondays and Wednesdays putting the lectures into practice. On those days, everyone worked on studies from a posed model. Professor Grafly recommended that Meta and her classmates work quickly and use small sketches that could be discarded as they developed their ideas. He also encouraged them to be bold in handling the clay; they should mold the material with their entire hands, not just with their fingers. If necessary, they should build it up or whack it into shape with a bat or block. Using the fingers prematurely, he told them, would result in detailed features before they could develop underlying physical structure.²

On Fridays everyone submitted their sculpture for the teacher's judgement. Grafly was a tough critic. His comments, which were terse and often sarcastic, could be devastating. A beginning student recalled that he once looked at her piece and said: "That's hardly worth criticizing is it." On another occasion, he told a self-assured male student that his sculpture looked like "hell." Grafly was uncompromising at times in order to teach his novices to consider sculpting under criticism as a learning tool and as encouragement to do better. But he also subjected students to harsh criticism in order to weed out those who could not hold their own. On the other hand, he tended to be more patient with his experienced students like Meta. Yet, to her dismay, Meta, like so many others who had come before her, discovered that no matter how close to perfection a bust might be, the professor never hesitated to pick up a wire and cut it in half to show a construction problem. In such cases, Grafly directed his lengthy explanations to the whole class. Although

Meta probably felt distress the first time she lost a sketch in this manner, she undoubtedly believed his technical suggestions to be reinforcing.³

Meta might have returned to the classroom in preparation for a bust of black American, poet-laureate Paul Laurence Dunbar that she was planning. Meta was well-acquainted with the Dunbars--Paul and his wife, Alice Moore. Before their separation in 1902, the Dunbars had lived in Washington, D.C. But, with the breakup of their marriage, Paul returned to the Midwest--first to Chicago, Illinois, and then to Dayton, Ohio--while Alice remained in the District of Columbia. Four years later, on February 9, Paul Dunbar died of a chronic lung ailment, at the height of his popularity as a writer. Many black Americans considered him to be the first black poet of literary distinction. According to W.E.B. Du Bois, then editor of The Moon, the Niagara Movement's journal, he had left no doubt that "the black hand wields the pen in American literature in a potent if not preponderant degree. . . ." When Alice Dunbar, herself a writer, asked Meta to do a bust of her husband, she was glad to undertake the project. Meta concurred with Du Bois' assessment of Dunbar; and because she wanted her portrait to be worthy of black America's literary genius, she might have gone to the Pennsylvania Academy in order to study with the nation's best portrait artist.⁴

2

Although Meta began the Paul Laurence Dunbar at the end of 1906, events occurred after the first of the new year that diverted her attention from this particular endeavor. In January, 1907, the Negro Develop-

ment and Exposition Company was ready to begin talking seriously with her about creating tableaux for the Jamestown Exposition. It wanted from eighteen to twenty groups of quarter, life-size figures. In addition to the landing of the first "slaves"* at Jamestown in 1619, the company suggested six themes which would suggest black progress to the modern day. These were: slaves at work, Emancipation, the first school, a businessman's home, and a social event. For the most part, the NDEC's suggestions reflected their emphasis on economics. But Meta also hoped to depict black development in what she termed the "arts of civilization." She wanted to show the Negro as poet, orator, painter, and physician. By combining her ideas with those gotten from further discussions with NDEC members and through consultations with scholarly acquaintances such as Du Bois, she was able to expand the original list of six subjects. She proposed to design dioramas illustrating: the first twenty "slaves" arriving at Jamestown; slaves at work on a Southern plantation; an escaping slave; the beginnings of the black church; house servants defending their master's home during the Civil War; Emancipation; the freedman's first home and school; the black soldier; the black American as farmer, contractor, and businessman; the modern black home and church; and a college graduation.⁵

When Meta submitted the themes to the Negro Development and Exposition Company, it approved. Subsequently, on February 27, 1907, she signed her contract to do fifteen tableaux. She agreed to deliver them

*The first blacks at Jamestown were indentured servants. The idea that they were slaves was a common misconception.

by May 10, after the Jamestown Exposition's April 26 opening, but in plenty of time for the official opening of the Negro Building on the Fourth of July. In return, the NDEC promised to pay her \$1,510.80, an allocation that Meta considered extremely generous.⁶

Meta's appointment as sculptor for the Jamestown Exposition's Negro Exhibition brought her national attention. Newspaper readers from New York City, New York to Portland, Oregon were astonished to discover that Rodin had a black American, woman protege, whose talent had earned her a commission from the United States government. According to the New York Tribune, her appointment was "an honor to her sex and an honor to her race." Furthermore, it considered her commission of such "unusual interest" that it was "safe to say that many visitors to the exposition will make a point of seeing what this young Negro woman can do."⁷

In March, Meta began working on the tableaux, setting aside all other projects. The sculptor did much of the preliminary work alone, modeling clay characters from sketches and doing research on costumes. When she was ready to execute the plaster manikins, two cousins and some of her art students came to the Camac Street studio to help her. Each figure had to be painted to represent natural skin tones, provided with a human hair wig, and costumed appropriately. Clothing had to be made to fit the twenty-four inch dolls. Over time, Meta felt the undertaking's pace become frantic. She became apprehensive that the two months she had been given to accomplish the task might be too short to do "really artistic work." Meanwhile, a similar drama was being played out on the Exposition grounds at Hampton Roads, Virginia.⁸

NEGRO SCULPTRESS.



Meta Vaux Warrick.

Meta Vaux Warrick, the talented negro artist, has been commissioned by the United States government to construct fifteen groups representing the progress of her race from the time of the landing at Jamestown, Va., in 1619, to the present day. The groups are to be exhibited at the Jamestown Exposition.

Fig. 11. Meta Vaux Warrick in her Philadelphia Studio

The Negro exhibition hall's builders were as worried about deadlines as Meta. Contractors A.H. Bolling and E.G. Everett of Richmond had broken ground for the Negro Building on February 6 and, with only five months to construct it, problems were constantly occurring. Hampton Roads was nine miles from Norfolk, Virginia, where sixteen transportation and shipping lines converged. The boats and street car lines that laborers depended upon to get to work were breaking down continually. Moreover, the contractors learned to consider themselves lucky when, on rare occasions, building materials reached the exposition grounds within ten shipping days. It was hard to maintain the NDEC's completion schedule under these circumstances.⁹

Yet the builders' anxiety was a continuation of construction problems which had beset the Negro Development and Exposition Company from the beginning. When the Federal government had given the hundred thousand dollars for the Negro Exhibition, it had stipulated that thirty thousand was to be spent for construction of the exhibition hall. With this in mind, the NDEC sought a black architect who could design a building that could be erected for that amount. The company contacted a number of Negro building designers and invited them to submit plans. Then it sent the architectural sketches and blueprints received to the Federal government's supervising architect J. Knox Taylor, for evaluation. Taylor judged the plans of District of Columbia architect J.A. Lankford to be the best "from the standpoint of beauty, arrangement [and] cost." He recommended Lankford to the NDEC.¹⁰

In the meantime, Booker T. Washington intervened in the selection. Washington told the company that if it would accept the work of one of

the Tuskegee graduates who had competed, not only would he give it the endorsement that he had withheld previously, but he would send a Tuskegee exhibit. When the school's officials learned that all of the "Bookerite" architects had lost to Lankford, James H. Washington, Booker's brother and superintendent of Tuskegee's industrial department, wrote to each NDEC board member, suggesting strongly that they support W. Sydney Pittman, the Tuskegee man whose drawings had been ranked second to Lankford's. Pittman was the designer of several buildings on the Alabama college's campus; but he was also Booker Washington's future son-in-law. The NDEC dared not alienate Washington because they needed his endorsement. Thus the company succumbed to the pressure from the "Tuskegee machine" and decided to use Pittman's designs for the Negro Building.¹¹

The selection of Sydney Pittman over Lankford resulted in another barrage of criticism from "anti-Bookerite" forces. The criticism appeared in the form of allegations that portrayed Director-General Giles Jackson as an opportunist. The Boston Guardian, for example, charged that before appointing Pittman, Jackson had called Lankford into his office, had told him that the NDEC was in financial difficulty, and had said that something must be done or "PUT UP." The Boston paper intimated that because Lankford had refused to pay a bribe, Jackson had given the plans to "BOOKER'S MAN." The Guardian also accused him of having asked the Secretary of the Treasury for fourteen thousand dollars in order to "go over to Africa and to get a colony of heathen Negroes, so that he could show the progress of the [American] Negroes for the past four hundred years"; then for five thousand dollars to subsidize his newspaper, the Negro Criterion.¹²

Whether these allegations were true or not, Meta Warrick was dismayed when she learned about them. She might have been more ambivalent about her association with the Jamestown enterprise had it not been for the consequential recognition that she anticipated and needed desperately. Meta also trusted the integrity of the NDEC members she knew, and she believed in the ultimate good that they were seeking to achieve.

In spite of the furor over alleged malfeasance on the part of some NDEC officials and countless construction problems, Jamestown exposition officials were able to credit the Negro Building with being "one of the most beautiful upon the Exposition grounds." Two hundred and thirteen feet long by one hundred and twenty-nine feet wide, the Negro exhibition hall was a colonial-style structure of wood and "pebble dash." One hundred and twenty-eight pillars supported the walls and the second-floor. And, its roof, spanning ninety-three feet, was erected on trusses. Anyone who entered the building could feel the presence of Booker T. Washington; his portraits and busts were everywhere. When Meta arrived during the first part of June to supervise the arrangement of the fourteen tableaux that she had been able to complete, mechanics and laborers were rushing to complete the building and the contributions of more than 1,500 other exhibitors were being set up.¹³

One hundred and sixty of them, including Meta, were artists taking part in the Fine Arts Department under the headings of Painting and Drawing, China Painting, Sculpture, Pyrography and Carving, Architecture, and Photography. The majority of them contributed paintings and drawings. The committee in charge of this exhibit had been disappointed not to have obtained any of Henry O. Tanner's paintings; however, there were a number

among those assembled that they considered to be of merit. J.R. Thompson of New York had sent oil portraits of Booker T. Washington and Mary Church Terrell, a member of the District of Columbia School Board and the first black woman to hold such a position. They also liked Adam and Eve and An Old Woman by Allen Jones, and Eloise, a portrait of a young violinist by Nashville artist Robert E. Bell. The second largest section in the Art Department was the Photographic collection. Pictures of distinguished individuals and the homes of successful people in various parts of the country were on display. H.M. Brazelton of Chattanooga, Tennessee had pictures here, as did A.L. Macbeth of Charleston, South Carolina, A.P. Bedou of New Orleans, and Addison N. Scurlock of Washington, D.C. The smallest group among the artists were the sculptors. Only three had representative works. Meta Warrick was one; another was Bertina Lee of Trenton, New Jersey. Lee had submitted ten sculptures. At least two of them were reliefs, for example, Madonna and Grecian Head. The Warrick Tableaux were not part of the Fine Arts exhibit; they had been classified as Historical Art, along with Fisk University's portrait of the original Jubilee Singers, painted in London, England in 1874 and hung now in the university's exhibition section.¹⁴

Because the Warrick Tableaux represented the theme of the Negro Exhibition, the Negro Building managers had chosen to feature them near the hall's east entrance. The space where Meta began setting up her figures and their three-sided painted canvas backdrops was large because each diorama was to cover ten by ten feet.¹⁵

The first of the Warrick Tableaux concerned the "beginnings of slavery" in Jamestown in 1619. Figures representing twenty, African men and

women, scantily clad, wrists bound, and feet bare, stood on the dock where a Dutch sea captain had sold them into bondage to English settlers. In the background were a stockade, a plantation storehouse, and the captain's ship, receding into the horizon.¹⁶

The second model depicted slaves on a Southern plantation. They were fully clothed and no longer uniform in skin color. By placing them at work in a cotton field, Meta showed that blacks had always played a vital role in their country's economic development. In contrast, her next diorama, entitled "A Fugitive Slave," was a declaration of the black man's desire for freedom. A two-man patrol was tracking the slave hiding in the underbrush beyond a stream. Even though his pursuers were using a bloodhound, the escapee was confident that he had destroyed his trail by crossing through the water.¹⁷

In her fourth tableaux, Meta brought her viewer north to Philadelphia and forward in time to 1787. In April of that year, Richard Allen and Absalom Jones founded the Free African Society, America's first, independent, black church. Both men were lay preachers belonging to St. George Methodist Episcopal Church. As a result of their evangelistic efforts, St. George's black membership grew at a rate that church officials considered alarming. When they tried to segregate the blacks by making them sit in the balcony, Jones, Allen, and their followers refused to be moved. Finally, they were ejected forcibly from the church. Meta's tableau represented the story's next step. In her scene, Richard Allen and Absalom Jones were continuing their religious services in a blacksmith's shop. The direct, institutional descendant of the Free African Society was the African Methodist Episcopal Church of St. Thomas;

and as a member of its congregation, Meta was able to feel that this manifestation of black progress was part of her personal history.¹⁸

Meta was aware that a number of black political thinkers considered it possible to allay racial tension in the South by showing that a tradition of racial cooperation had always existed there. They believed that improved relations were the key to economic prosperity for both blacks and whites. "Cast down your buckets among my people," Booker T. Washington had said in his 1895 Atlanta Exposition Address, and "as we have proven our loyalty in the past, in nursing your children, watching by the sick-bed of your mothers and fathers, and often following them with tear-dimmed eyes to their graves, so in the future, in our humble way, we shall stand by you . . . ready to lay down our lives . . . in defense of yours, interlacing our industrial, commercial, civil and religious life with yours in a way that shall make the interests of both races one."¹⁹

Meta seemed to have had Washington's text in mind when she designed her next tableau. She set "Defending his Master's Home" on a grand plantation during the Civil War. A large pillared mansion was situated behind her principal characters. Across a field stood a slave cabin. According to the scenario of this model, the plantation owner was away, fighting for the Confederacy. Consequently, a "poor white" seized the chance to kidnap the master's son. The child's mother, who had seen all, fainted in the arms of the "faithful mammy." But an old house-servant who also had witnessed the attempt rescued the boy and chased off the offender. This tableau paralleled the Washington speech so closely that anyone who had been uneasy about the language of that speech in 1895 because it portrayed blacks as subservient, would be equally uneasy about Meta's

tableau.²⁰

However, there was another possible interpretation of "Defending his Master's Home." This was the only action scene depicting black bravery. There were black Union soldiers during the Civil War, of course; but if Meta had used Union soldiers as the subject of a diorama at a Southern exposition, she would have risked offending white Southern visitors to the Negro Building. Her illustration, then, could be considered a simple matter of diplomacy.

In a curious departure from chronology, Meta made the "Beginning of Negro Education" the fifth tableau and "The Freedman's First Cabin" the sixth. Perhaps this juxtaposition was the result of the sculptor's belief that the Negro's desire for learning had been so powerful during his years of captivity that after freedom, education was more important to him than shelter. Even so, the artist's thematic preference was balanced by her sensitive conceptualization of both tableaux.

The characters of "The Beginning of Negro Education" were two teachers and their students. The female teacher could be seen at the window of the low cabin schoolhouse as the male teacher stood in its doorway, beckoning the children in from recess. Unlike the school marm of Thomas Hunster's Paris tableau depicting the first school, the teachers of this Warrick Tableau were Negroes.

The sixth model, "The Freedman's First Cabin," portrayed a unified family--a mother holding an infant, a father, a son, and a daughter. They were preparing for supper after having cleared a small, woodland path and having set the foundation of their new home. As their parents

watch, the older children were gathering branches for a cooking fire.

The sculptor followed the latter diorama with "Response to the Call to Arms." The eight soldiers of this group symbolized the black American's dedication to his country. Carbines resting at their sides, the men stood at attention, listening as their commanding officer read their orders.

The last six tableaux were contemporary. The first three--"on his Own Farm," "Builders and Contractors," and "The Savings Bank" (of which there were twenty-four owned and operated by blacks in the United States)--were illustrations of the economic progress that black Americans had made since Emancipation through self-help. The final three represented accomplishment in what Meta had called "the arts of civilization," and contained special features that would be interesting to Exposition visitors.²¹

Forced to delay her bust of Paul Laurence Dunbar because of work on her Jamestown tableaux, Meta had created a figure of him for "Improved Home Life." Its setting was a neatly furnished parlor in the home of an upper, middle-class family. The husband was reading, the wife was busy with her needlework, and their children were playing on the floor. Their house guest, Paul Dunbar, was seated at a corner table writing, his presence in the scene a symbol of the Negro's contribution to American literature. Similarly, miniature paintings on the walls represented the Negro's appreciation for Art.²²

"An After Church Scene" symbolized the African Methodist Episcopal Church's growth from a small gathering in a smithy's shop into one of the black community's most important institutions. (By 1907, the AME Church

reportedly comprised 28,770 assemblies with \$26,000,000 in property.) This diorama showed smartly dressed worshippers leaving an urban church. The ediface's stained-glass windows were evidence of its affluent congregation. A viewer who saw the model later thought that "manliness, self-reliance, modest intelligence, and ease of manner all [found] expression" in the "general appearance of these figures."²³

The same could be said of "College Commencement," Meta's final and most elaborate tableau. A tribute to black achievement in higher education, the diorama was set on the campus of Howard University, in Washington, D.C. The scene took place after the graduation ceremony. Frederick Douglass, the commencement speaker, stood on the common, surrounded by dignified professors, self-confident graduates, and the graduates' proud parents. This model stated its creator's belief that modern Negro youth needed the broadest training possible in order to prepare themselves for their coming lives. Thereby, she ended her story of black development by looking toward the future.²⁴

The Warrick Tableaux were in place. Now Meta waited for them to be illuminated. The completion of this task became urgent to her when she learned that President Theodore Roosevelt would visit the Negro Building on the following Monday, the tenth of June.²⁵

On Monday morning, a large crowd of black citizens gathered at the Negro Building in anticipation of seeing the President of the United States. At eleven-thirty o'clock, Federal troops came to secure the exhibition hall and its grounds. Hundreds of people with tickets were able to gain admission to the building beforehand; but once martial law had



Fig. 12. "A College Commencement", one of the Warrick Tableaux

been established, no one could enter or leave without the permission of the military guards. Meta, whose exhibition had yet to be unveiled because it still was without lighting, had chosen to help with another exhibit and was inside.

A little after one o'clock that afternoon, Meta heard the tumult as Theodore Roosevelt and his party--his wife, Edith; Secretary of the Navy Victor Metcalf; and Georgia Governor Robert H. Terrell--rode up to the Negro Building in their open carriage, amid six hundred cheering and applauding, black Americans. The Presidential party stepped down from their carriage, Mrs. Nama Yoka Curtis, the official hostess of the Negro Building, greeted them, and President Roosevelt made a few brief remarks to the multitude--all beyond Meta's hearing.²⁶

Several minutes passed before Roosevelt and his entourage reached the exhibition section where Meta was working. When she was introduced to them, the President remembered her and said that he was pleased to meet her again. Although she felt honored to be remembered, she was disappointed that her tableaux had not been ready for viewing.

Similarly, the President's NDEC escorts hoped that he would return because by the time of this visit, a month before the Negro Building's official opening, only a tenth of the exhibits had been installed. He did return after the Fourth of July Grand Opening. This time, the War-rick Tableaux were illuminated and Meta was able to show them to Roosevelt at their best.²⁷

By the end of the President's June visit, however, everyone in his entourage was convinced that the Negro Exhibition was already a success. Governor Terrell told the NDEC committee that its contents were so

satisfying that they could consider the exhibit complete without the missing items. Theodore Roosevelt also congratulated them in parting remarks, saying: "those who have argued from the outset that a high grade exposition of what the Negro has accomplished in his three centuries of struggle and achievement would . . . vindicate his title to the full panoply of citizenship have unquestionably won their case."²⁸

Thousands of white Americans, including Governors from several states, visited the Negro Building from the day of its opening. Many echoed Roosevelt's praise of the evidence of achievement that they found there. One white Mississippian toured the black exhibition because a friend who had been there earlier had recommended that he not miss it. A Texan with no previous interest in his state's black population thought the exhibition advantageous because it showed white Southerners a degree of progress that they had not suspected. Governor Glenn of North Carolina, whose state had given its black participants five thousand dollars, believed that it "deserved the approval of all good citizens, white and colored."²⁹

Unfortunately, the courtesy that blacks like Meta Warrick experienced off the "Negro Reservation" never equaled the accolades they received as Negro Exhibition participants. Despite the Negro Development and Exposition Company's tireless efforts to prevent it, blacks were discriminated against in restaurants, in public accommodations, and on trains and streetcars. For instance, streetcar conductors did not hesitate to order black passengers to stand up, or to put them out on the nearest platform if the convenience of a white rider were involved. Meta

encountered such a challenge when she boarded a trolley at the front. The conductor blocked her way and insisted that she enter from the rear. But Meta refused so forcefully that he let her pass and take a seat.³⁰

She hoped for better treatment on the exposition grounds. When she had discharged her responsibilities at the Negro Building, Meta had wanted to visit the exposition like any other tourist. Years later, she could still remember her disbelief when she "set out to the different exhibits" and discovered that she "couldn't have anything to eat anywhere" at the fair. "I had gotten a Gold Medal for that exhibit, (I didn't know it at the time), but I couldn't eat at any of the eating places," she said. The only food Meta had on her visit was some shredded wheat samples that she had taken at the Nabisco Exhibit in the Food Products Building. Being turned away at the Exposition's soda fountains and restaurants humiliated Meta. She was so frustrated and angry that, soon afterward, she packed her bags and went home.³¹

Back in Philadelphia, journalists who had seen her Jamestown tableaux sought her out for interviews. Meta was glad about the continued publicity. But her indignation over her treatment at the exposition turned to disillusionment when she learned what some NDEC officials were saying in their attempt to remove the Negro Building to Richmond. Since March, 1907, the Negro Development and Exposition Company had been negotiating with the Federal government for ownership. They wanted the structure relocated in Richmond, where it could become a museum of black American culture.³²

On the evening of November 11, Giles Jackson and Daniel Webster Davis, a black Richmond teacher who favored the plan, delivered speeches

to a predominantly white audience to convince them to accept the building. Jackson and Davis played this Academy of Music audience like the masters of a medicine show, pandering to their prejudices and conceit. Giles Jackson spoke first. He told the story of how he had raised the money for the Negro Building. When he had gone north to secure the funding, he said, some people had accused him of operating a Jim Crow exhibition--of drawing the color line. "I told them," he added, "that God drew the line and we had to tow it." Davis elaborated on Jackson's declaration: "we would not think of bringing this exhibition to Richmond without your approval. . . . All the progress we have made has been due to your help. You white people don't know how much we believe in you, and we know we cannot hope for success unless we live in peace with you. And let me tell you now that the [N]egroes of the South do not believe in nor do they want social equality. The [N]egro doesn't turn white when he strikes New York. He knows his place, and he knows his best friend is to be found in the South." The next day, one reporter informed his readers that Davis had been "so clever" at jumping "from common-sense to pathos and humour" that he had "saved a great many women from tears."³³

There were, of course, black Americans who considered such remarks neither clever nor amusing. An editorial in the Voice of the Negro strongly criticized such doings, especially on Jackson's part. "We know that there are some excellent colored people connected with the so-called colored annex," it read, "but it is also true that no greater humiliation could come to the Virginia black people than the placing of the notorious lick-spittle, Giles B. Jackson, at the head of this department. It can only be accounted for by remembering that there is a determined effort

among the whites to force that kind of cowardly leadership on the Negro race."³⁴

Evidently, Jackson's behavior embarrassed Meta, now back in Philadelphia. To her, memories of the type of social inequality that he seemed willing to accept for black Southerners were fresh in her mind. Consequently, Meta swore never "to have anything to do with his schemes" again.³⁵

C H A P T E R I X

A PHOENIX FROM THE ASHES

By the end of 1907, Meta had received her gold medal for the Warrick Tableaux. "The story of the development of the colored people . . . was skillfully told, no less in [the] dress, physical bearing, and facial expression of the characters than in the subject of the tableaux," the Awards Jury reported. "It was a remarkable representation admirably executed." This prize established Meta's reputation as a nationally known artist. Journalists who had seen her dioramas or had read about her award sought her out for interviews. Just when the sculptor might have taken professional advantage of her publicity, however, her creative activity decreased. In January, 1908, she exhibited Peeping Tom of Coventry in the Pennsylvania Academy's annual art show. Apart from that, her own significant undertaking was the resumption of work on the Paul Laurence Dunbar bust.¹

Meta's slowdown lasted from late 1907 to 1913. The main reason was that crisis and transition in her personal life overshadowed career matters. First was the illness and subsequent death of her seventy-year-old grandmother, Margaret Jones, during the winter of 1907-1908. When her grandmother's health had begun to fail, Meta had given up her work in order to help care for her. Meta and her grandmother had been extremely close and it may have taken Meta months to regain the level of concentration for sculpting that she had had before her grandmother's illness.

Next, Meta became preoccupied with her forthcoming marriage to Solomon Fuller. By mid-1908, they had been engaged for almost two years, during which time they corresponded, telephoned, and visited one another whenever possible. The length of their engagement resulted partly from the time and trouble involved in building their future home in the town of Framingham, Massachusetts, where the doctor worked.²

Framingham was actually two communities that had grown together. Framingham Center, the original settlement, was where the majority of the "Old Yankee" families resided. South Framingham, literally on the other side of the railroad tracks, was the industrial section of town. Its residents were the descendants of immigrant, factory workers. Although Framingham Center and South Framingham had come together geographically, they still were divided along class and ethnic lines. It was a member of the town's "establishment", Attorney John Merriam, a trustee of Westborough State Hospital, who encouraged Solomon Fuller to settle in Framingham and sold him land on Brewster Road on which to build.³

Brewster Road, situated in an area where Framingham Center and South Framingham converged, was a mixture of white, middle and upper-middle class families. The lower stratum was primarily Irish--teachers and other civil servants who were struggling for social mobility with the "Old Yankees." Unlike Merriam, who was secure in his social position, these people believed that their neighborhood's integrity would be damaged if Negroes moved in. Their objections were so strong that they raised enough money to buy out Fuller and pressured him into selling.

Solomon Fuller found another house lot on Warren Road, a short distance away. Builders had almost finished excavating the cellar before

Warren Road residents discovered that the new homeowners were black. Dorothy Larned, who lived on the street as a child, recalled that Thomas A. Chubb, whose home was across the road from the construction, had made the discovery. A Texan who had moved to Massachusetts, bringing his prejudices with him, Chubb had tried to use his influence as a real estate agent to convince his neighbors that property values would go down if Negroes were allowed to live there. First, he had attempted to raise money to buy Fuller's land, as Brewster Road residents had done; but he could not stir up that much negative interest. Next, he circulated a petition to keep Fuller off the street.

When a discouraged Solomon told Meta about the petition, she comforted him and urged him "to stick it out." When John Merriam learned about what was happening, he offered Solomon another piece of property adjacent to his own home on Union Avenue, Framingham's main street. But Solomon took Meta's advice. Warren Road was where he had started to build and Warren Road was where he decided to stay.⁴

Not everyone on Warren Road had agreed with the petition. Later, Solomon told Meta that a man named Arthur Bent had introduced himself, saying that he thought it was a "dastardly thing" that some of the neighbors were doing to try to keep them out. Furthermore, Bent promised to bring his wife to call on them, once they had settled into their new home.⁵

After the petition incident, the Fuller house went up by degrees. By November, 1908, it was nearly complete. One of its finishing touches was to be a sculptural work of Meta's design. When she and Solomon were planning their home, Solomon thought it would be nice to incorporate some

form of her sculpture in the structure itself. The two decided to have a relief over the living room fireplace and Meta drew a sketch of which he approved. The relief was to be composed of four panels in which Romanesque goddesses represented Spring, Summer, Autumn, and Winter. Beneath the seasons was to be a strip showing the twelve signs of the Zodiac. Meta waited months for the dimensions of the relief because bricklayers could not provide them until they had determined how the fireplace brick was to be arranged. When Solomon finally sent the proportions of the space and the workmen were ready for the relief, Meta was caught by surprise. She had been juggling work on the Dunbar portrait with an order for music room panels, and had not even started her own. Her panel relief had to be modeled. Then the terra cotta had to be pressed into a mold and allowed to dry thoroughly before it could be fired. The latter had to be done in Philadelphia; unfortunately, Meta was in Atlantic City when she received word from Framingham. She recollected later how helpless she felt as she received letters, telegrams, and telephone calls to "send the panel, send the panel!" But Solomon was pleased with The Four Seasons when Meta was able to ship it to him. She remembered that he liked its thick, creamy color. Once their home was complete, Meta and Solomon were able to set their wedding date for February of the coming year.⁶

Tuesday, February 9, 1909, was the day of the wedding. Meta was excited, of course, and a bit overwhelmed by the magnitude of the event. There were to be four ministers presiding: Rev. Edward G. Knight, the former rector of the Episcopal Church of St. Thomas, who had said that he wanted to perform the ceremony when Meta decided to marry; Rev. Cartier,



Fig. 13. The Four Seasons

the present rector; Rev. Henry Townsend, the rector of Trinity Church, where her family worshipped in Atlantic City; and Rev. Beavers. Still fussing over minor details that seemed not to be falling into place, she made a final visit to her Camac Street studio in order to check her belongings one last time. Some of the boxes containing sculpture needed more excelsior before they could be nailed, to insure safe shipment. In addition, her piano remained uncrated. Meta's Aunt Liz, who had provided the studio, promised to take care of these matters. Upon her return home, someone had to insist that Meta take a nap. To see that she rested, friends hid her in a guest room from her nervous mother. Emma Warrick never knew her daughter's whereabouts until time to get ready.

Meta would never forget what happened when the hour arrived. She entered her dressing room and there was her mother, waiting for her help to get dressed. Meta remembered that after she had helped her mother, her mother "immediately disappeared," leaving her alone to struggle with her own petticoats, corsets, and hooks and eyes.

At last Meta was attired in the beautiful, white, crepe de chine gown that her Aunt Liz had provided for her. She adjusted the voluminous, tulle veil that she had borrowed from a cousin, gathered up her skirts, and started downstairs, wondering where everyone was. Meta was startled to find her husband-to-be among those waiting. He was not supposed to see her before the ceremony, but there he stood. A mix-up in the carriages had delayed his departure for the church.

Suddenly, the six o'clock whistles blew. To Meta, the situation now seemed humorous. She teased Solomon by saying: "I thought we were to be married at six o'clock." She remembered how adamantly he had proclaimed:

"We'll be married at six o'clock if there's nobody there but the ministers and ourselves." Apparently, they were not going to be married at six even though they had "four ministers . . . to do the trick." Finally, the carriages arrived and the wedding party took the five-minute drive to St. Thomas Church.⁷

Title:: Girls who became artists, by Winifred and Francis
 Collection:: UM W.E.B. Du Bois art
 Call No:: N43 .K5 1967
 Barcode:: 3120666013990639

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Solomon and her a wedding breakfast. "Miss Maggie," as the family called her, had taken over the Jones catering business when Margaret Warren Jones had become too old to manage by herself. The breakfast was a large gathering. Among the gifts that the Fullers received was the latest edition of The Souls of Black Folk, which William and Nina Du Bois had sent. Du Bois had written inside the cover: "In memory of happy days in the past and in hope of happier days to come." At first, Meta was uncertain for whom the present was intended. Du Bois might have been referring to

either his association with Solomon "during his days at Harvard" or to the student gatherings with her in the Rue de Fleureuse and the parties and dinners at the Paris Exposition. Since wedding gifts were, in Meta's words, "generally made to the bride," she claimed Souls of Black Folk for herself.⁹

After the breakfast, Meta and Solomon Fuller left Philadelphia to begin their new life in Framingham. They took the train with Fred Hemmings as far as New York City, and then went on to Brooklyn, where Solomon's cousins, the Jarrots, were to give them a dinner. At midnight, the Fullers took a sleeper to Framingham. They arrived there the following morning.¹⁰

2

The house that Solomon Fuller had built for Meta and himself at 31 Warren Road was "Old English" stylistically, with stucco exteriors and casement windows. Meta loved her new home at first sight. To her, it was "more artistic than any of the other houses" on the street. Upon reaching the front door of the "Honeymoon House," as she named it, Meta expected to be carried across the threshold. But Solomon, the pragmatist, believed that such "formalities" were "folderol." Having to walk through the doorway was something that Meta, the romanticist, would never forget.¹¹

To Meta, however, Solomon's disregard for tradition was insignificant, compared to the discrimination that she and her husband faced in Framingham. They could find only one heating company that would sell them fuel, for example. As for the neighbors who objected to them on

Warren Road, Meta decided to ignore their unfriendly conduct. She "never looked right nor left" when walking to and from her home.

The children on the street were fascinated with Meta's coming and goings. Vera Hemminway reminisced that "she had very much more interesting clothes than we children were used to seeing our parents wear." They were so drawn to her that by summer, they were having ice cream on the Fullers' back porch regardless of their parents' admonitions.

The promised welcoming visit from the Arthur Bents eventually weakened neighborhood resistance to the Fullers. Meta remembered that "when the rest of the neighbors saw what the Bents were doing, they too became more friendly."¹²

The prejudice from which Meta and Solomon suffered did have one consequence that would sadden Meta for the rest of her married life. Soon after coming to town, she and Solomon joined St. Andrew's Episcopal Church. The first Sunday that they attended services there, Solomon noticed several individuals who had treated them badly in the congregation. In fact, Mr. Chubb was one of the ushers. That was enough for the doctor. A fiercely proud man, he informed Meta that "if that's the kind of people who go [to St. Andrew's], he didn't want to go." On the other hand, Meta's faith was too strong to allow a spectre of others' prejudice to bar her way. "Even if they had told me that I was unwelcome," she said later, "I would have continued to worship." But Solomon was so disillusioned by what he perceived to be the religious hypocrisy of St. Andrew's white Christians that Meta was never able to convince him to set foot in church again.¹³

Despite this fundamental disagreement, Meta settled easily into her

role as the wife of a doctor whose career was rising. Fuller's research in degenerative brain disease was so highly regarded among his colleagues that in September, 1909, he was invited to participate in the Clark University Conference on Child Research and Welfare, a week-long summit of the leading figures in the development of modern educational and psychological theory, which included Sigmund Freud, Carl Jung, and Alfred Adler. Conversely, Meta was so preoccupied with wifely chores that Elizabeth Dunbar, a Philadelphia girlhood friend, wrote to her: "By this time you and Dr. Fuller are getting quite domestic, but I hope you are not letting your studio take second place to any room in the house. You must live your highest life, nourished and enriched by all the new joys and responsibilities, but still your life. Don't lay your talent away to rust." Meta, who had reserved an upstairs room for a studio, might have begun sculpting soon after her marriage had she possessed her tools; but her Aunt Liz had put her belongings into storage because she had found a tenent for Two-Ten Camac Street before she could arrange to ship Meta's goods. Time after time, Meta had resolved to return to Philadelphia to see to their shipment herself, but other responsibilities always prevented her. By September, Meta was three months pregnant and looking forward to motherhood. On March 10, 1910, she delivered an infant boy, whom she named Solomon Carter Fuller, Jr.¹⁴

Not long after her son's birth, Meta suffered a calamity which turned her hiatus from sculpting into a full retreat. In November, a fire swept through the Philadelphia warehouse where her belongings were deposited. The resulting conflagration destroyed household goods and

precious keepsakes, such as Solomon's loveletters, and all but obliterated sixteen years of sculptural work. Among the statuary gone forever were the original Secret Sorrow, Silenus, Oedipus, Primitive Man, two heads of the Three Gray Women (the Graeae), Falstaff, Oriental Dancer, The Wrestlers, Death in the Wind, Desespoire, Man with a Thorn, The Man Who Laughed, Corpse-Candles (Wild Fire), Brittany Peasant, The Two-Step, Portrait of William Thomas, and Peeping Tom of Coventry.¹⁵

The loss of so much of her life's treasure, especially the statuary of her Paris years, devastated Meta. Bereaved and grieving, she clung to her husband and baby as though they were rafts in the tide of emotion in which she was drowning. The depth of Meta's depression can be deduced from Elizabeth Dunbar's sensitive and compassionate reply to a letter that Meta wrote her about the fire: "I know how you feel," Dunbar told Meta. "You will never again have just the opportunity and inspiration that brought those works to pass. And there is no love like the first. I am so sorry for you and with you. . . . But after all, your ability remains, ripened, more balanced, sure. There is no moment when you cannot say 'I will do better than these' . . . you will disappoint us all, and yourself, if your next sculpture is not stronger, finer and more beautiful than the old. If this disaster is the spur to fresher things, it will have been not in vain. It is so easy and pleasant gliding down the smooth, happy stream of beloved but, alas, not artistic duties, so soothing to drift with the tide, that one may forget the call of things, if not equal to, yet as divine as those that cry more immediately about us: sometimes we have to be pulled up almost by the roots before we feel the tug at all. It hurts--but good may come . . . for adversity bringeth

forthpatience and patience, perfection.¹⁶

Meta was too distraught, however, to take her confidant's missive to heart. There were no words of comfort or encouragement powerful enough to tear down the fortress of domesticity that she was building around herself. By the end of 1911, Meta had three children for whom to care. Her second son, William Thomas, named for Solomon's brother and her's, was born on June 11. Also, when her older sister, Blanche, died that same year, Blanche's thirteen-year-old daughter, Margaret, came to live with the Fuller family. Besides being responsible for the care of her family, Meta was becoming more active socially in Framingham and, to a lesser extent, in Boston.¹⁷

Boston friends, such as Tommy's godmother, black pianist and ethnomusicologist Maud Cuney-Hare, tried to coax her back to work. "If you work only twenty minutes a day, you can do it," she would say. But Meta would excuse herself by saying that she was too busy. And, when she did feel the need to be creative, she turned to something other than sculpture. She took courses in Religious Drama and in Theatre Costuming at Wellesley College, for example.¹⁸

This stalemate was broken finally in 1913, when W.E.B. Du Bois demanded a piece of sculpture for New York State's celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation. From October 22 through 31, it would be holding an exposition at New York City's Twelfth Regiment Armory. Du Bois, who had written an historical pageant especially for the event, suggested that Meta might wish to enlarge Secret Sorrow, the statuette that she had shown Rodin, as her contribution. Inasmuch as she had lost the original so recently by fire, Meta felt

that any attempt to recreate it would be too painful. She agreed to do a figure symbolizing Emancipation instead.¹⁹

In part, Meta acquiesced because Du Bois' request was timely. For the past few months, Meta had begun to believe that she should resume her work as a serious sculptor. Yet because she had been inactive professionally for more than two years and because there were still competing household responsibilities to consider, Meta wondered if she could succeed. Now Du Bois had offered her an opportunity that she hoped "would lead to other things later." Actually, she was so "anxious to do the work," that she agreed to a fee of two-hundred dollars above her estimated expenses--a very low figure in her opinion.²⁰

Meta began to conceptualize her emancipation piece while she "lay almost helpless in the hospital." To her, the Negro represented "not a pure race but a mixed race" which was undeveloped at the time of the proclamation. As she thought further about the matter, it occurred to her that it was "not Lincoln alone who wrote the Emancipation, but the humane side of the nation. . . ." Moreover, black Americans had "been emancipated from slavery but not from the curse of race hatred and prejudice."²¹

When she returned from the hospital, Meta bought new sculpture tools and materials and, with a housekeeper's help to relieve her of some of the household routine, started working out her ideas in modeling wax. The single figure became a group of figures. She "represented the race by a male and female figure standing under a tree the branches of which are the fingers of Fate grasping at them to draw them back into the fateful clutches of hatred. . . ." A third figure symbolized

"Humanity weeping over her suddenly freed children who, beneath the gnarled fingers of Fate step forth into the world unafraid."²²

When Dr. Fuller saw The Spirit of Emancipation, as Meta had entitled her final model, he objected to the "swing" that she had given to the male's legs, on anatomical grounds. And, when in their heated debate, he suggested that the figure's stance made it look like a "caricature," Meta was insulted. A true disciple of Rodin and his interpretive approach, she asserted that because she had had no one to model for her, she had used the pose that she had always associated with "lithe, youthful Negroes." Besides, in her professional opinion, it would be impossible to change the stance "without loss of time and possibly weakening the rest of the figure."²³

The transformations that The Spirit of Emancipation had undergone already had proven to be costly. Meta knew that by the time she finished, her expenses would exceed not only the estimates that she had given the exposition commissioners, but her fee. There was not enough money now to enlarge the group from its twenty-four inch model to full size. Despite his technical disagreement with his sculptor wife, Solomon, who was supportive generally, interceded and subsidized the remainder of the project. This enabled Meta to enlarge her statuary to eight feet and to ship it to New York City.²⁴

Meta and Solomon Fuller had planned to attend the National Emancipation Exposition as a relaxing holiday; but Meta was sought out for her artistic expertise almost as soon as she arrived at the Twelfth Regiment Armory, the exposition's location. Du Bois pressed her into service to



Fig. 14. The Spirit of Emancipation (View A)



Fig. 15. The Spirit of Emancipation (View B)

repair May Howard Jackson's bust of Francis Grimké, which had been damaged in transit from Washington, D.C. Later, at the request of Mary B. Talbert, founder and president of the Christian Culture Congress, Meta delivered an impromptu lecture on "Women in the Arts" to the exposition's women's congress.²⁵

While on her trip to the exposition, Meta was gratified to observe that public response to The Spirit of Emancipation was positive. She encountered a group of visitors contemplating her statuary at the armory. With a combination of amusement and dismay, Meta listened to their conversation until she heard one of the speakers explain that the weeping female was the young man's "wife." No longer able to restrain herself, she interrupted, introduced herself, and tried to explain that the weeping woman symbolized Humanity. The expositor insisted, however, that he was right and that she was wrong--about her own piece. Meta was forced to withdraw in defeat.²⁶

Undoubtedly, viewers were tempted to give their own interpretations to The Spirit of Emancipation because it was unique among the sculpture of its type. According to Meta's contemporary, Freeman Murray, it was unlike any other work depicting Emancipation and the freedman because it contained no chains, "no obvious parchments, no discarded whips, no crouching slaves with uncertain faces; . . . no kindly benignant Liberator. . . ." Meta's emancipation group was a viril expression of pure symbolism.²⁷

There was one other aspect of The Spirit of Emancipation that set it apart from other sculpture of its genre. Unlike other sculptors who portrayed Negroes in their artwork, Meta chose not to "favor" the female

with Caucasian features. This choice reflected the growing race consciousness and pride of both the artist and her black public.

Of course, Meta was unaware of the extraordinary nature of her sculpture. Characteristically, she was dissatisfied with the execution. First, she regretted not having had time to "represent in some way the faith poetry and music which in the Negro is so great." But, she concluded ultimately that it had been done too hurriedly "to hand down to posterity. . . as a representative bit of work." Instead of letting the Emancipation Anniversary Commission cast her group in bronze as it had planned, Meta asked that the group be returned to Framingham, so that she could rework it.²⁸

Although The Spirit of Emancipation did not meet Meta's high standards, it was extremely important as a turning point in her career. With her confidence restored, she opened her home to friends and neighbors for her first private exhibition since her marriage. For Meta, this was a new beginning.²⁹

CHAPTER X

"HANGING FIRE"

The opportunities that Meta had hoped would result from her participation at the Emancipation Proclamation Anniversary Exposition were not immediately forthcoming. Meanwhile, she "[took] up the chisel" again enthusiastically, simply for the satisfaction that she derived from the creative process. Maud Cuney-Hare, who had encouraged Meta to begin again, was among her first subjects. The Pianist, a seated figure representing Maud, was an intimate portrait through which the artist conveyed the intellectual vitality of her friend. Also among the early work was the statuette Veiled Future. Bearing a striking resemblance to the "Ethiopia" of Du Bois' historical pageant, the sculptor's woman of mystery was a silvery lady, carrying a golden globe. With the exception of the fingers of her left hand, which hold the orb, and those of her right, which probe its meaning, Future is shrouded. Only the outline of her form and face is discernable beneath her veil. The graceful lines of the figure and the suggested delicacy of the veil lend an ethereal quality to the statuette. Meta also returned to the dance, a favorite theme in her repertoire, to produce A Classic Dancer, which resembled Isadora Duncan, and the synaesthetic Danse Macabre, a group of female dancers, whose outstretched arms and billowing skirts glve them a seductive look. Meta even recreated the Brittany Peasant of 1903.

For the most part, Meta's sculpture from 1914 through 1915 was small and of personal significance. For example, her sculptural revival



Fig. 16. The Pianist (Maud Cuney-Hare)

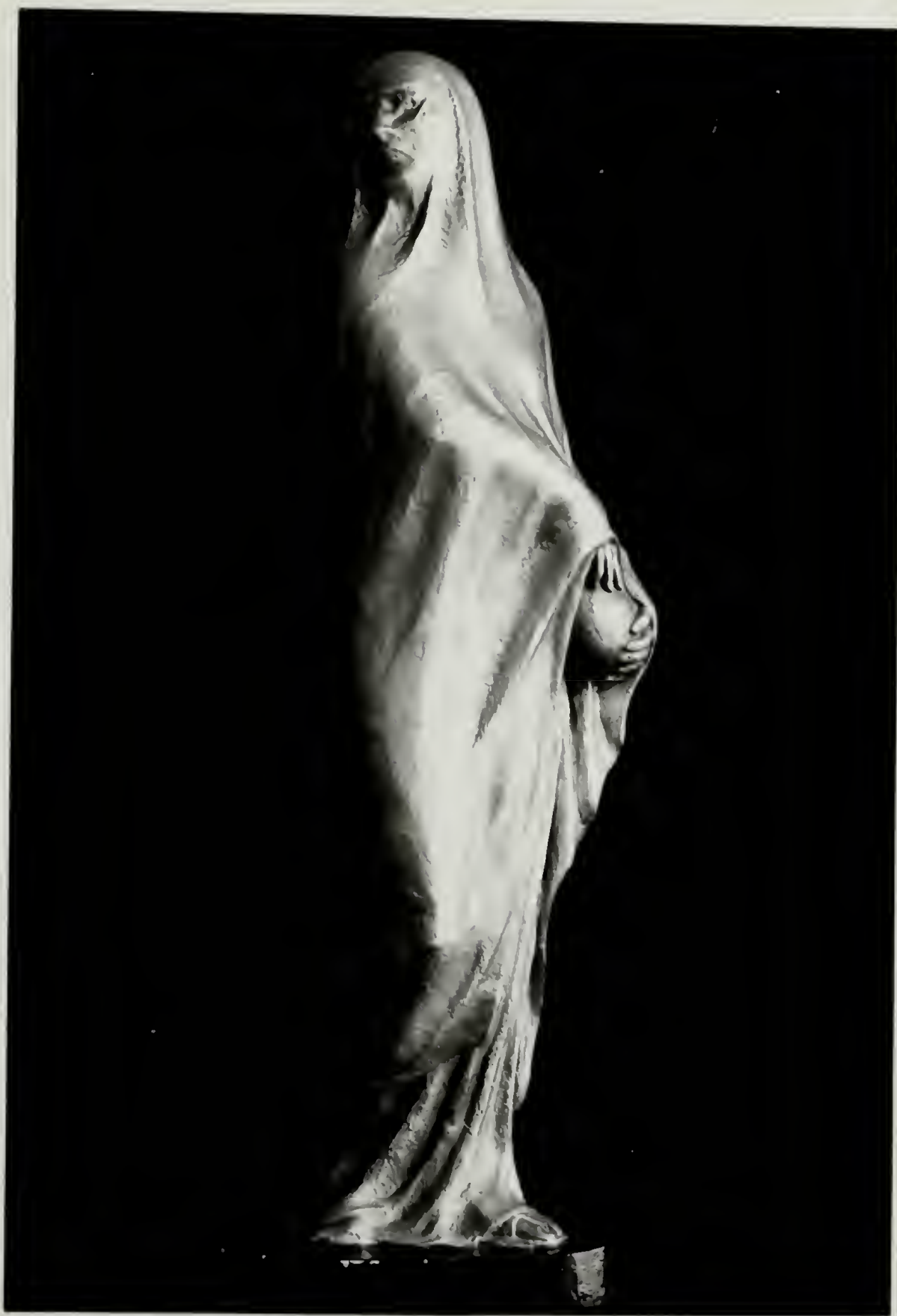


Fig. 17. Veiled Future

occurred when home life was still first among her priorities; thus, she embraced it as a theme in her art. She began to depict the relationship between mothers and their children. A Grandmother, Margaret Jones, seated in an overstuffed chair, represented the pleasure that Meta found in telling her sons stories as her grandmother had done when she was a little girl. A mother cuddles a small child on her lap in Adulation, while in the most enigmatic of Meta's "mother and child" groups, the mother and baby appear to have lost interest in one another momentarily and seem to be fascinated by something unseen at the mother's feet.

For Meta, sculpture became a camera's eye. So-Big, a bronze-painted plaster statuette, four inches high, preserved the sight of four-year-old Solomon building a snowman. This impressionistic piece shows Solomon rolling a snowball nearly as large as he. Meta captured the image of her three-year-old, Tommy, as well. She depicted him on a pony as A Young Equestrian and used him as the subject of "A Drink, Please." Young Solomon was the model for a portrait bust and The Beggar Boy. But Meta favored reliefs, while the children were young and demanded her attention, because these could be executed more quickly than other sculptural forms. She carved small medallions of the children and of Dr. Fuller. Occasionally, however, she found the time to sculpt more elaborate family portraits. For instance, she modeled a head of Dr. Fuller on late evenings, when her sons were in bed.¹

Although the majority of Meta's work was personal in nature during this period, there were two notable exceptions: portraits of black composer Samuel Coleridge-Taylor and of Emperor Menelik II of Abyssinia, the monarch who laid the foundations of the modern Ethiopian state.

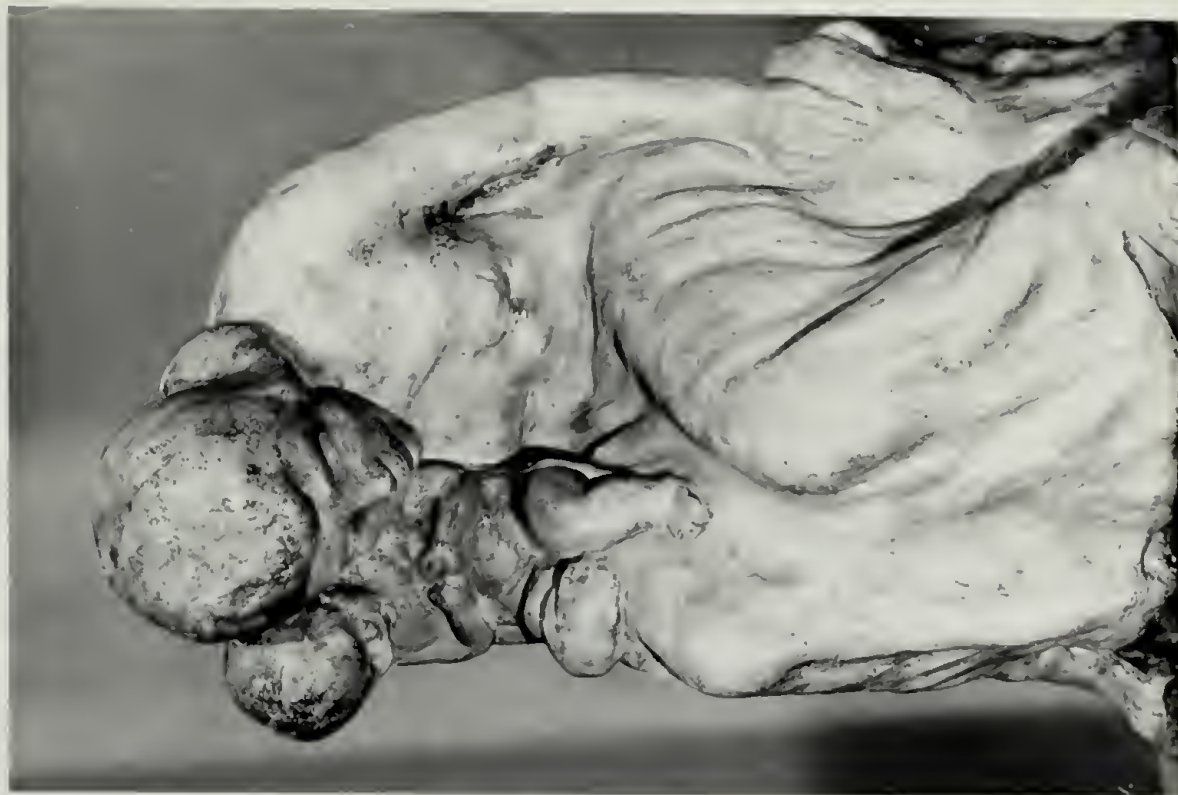


Fig. 19. "Mother and Baby"



Fig. 18. Adulation



Fig. 20. So-Big



Fig. 21. The Boy Solomon



Fig. 22. The Beggar Boy



Fig. 23. Dr. Solomon C. Fuller



Fig. 24. S.C. Fuller (Bust)

Both possessed wide appeal as highly regarded individuals in black America, particularly in the intellectual community. Born in 1875, the son of an Englishwoman and a doctor from Sierra Leone, Samuel Coleridge-Taylor became one of Victorian England's leading young composers and the first black to receive international recognition in the field of classical music. To the black artistic community in the United States, which was denied a similar degree of cultural fulfillment in their country, he was a source of pride. Thus, the black community was deeply saddened when, on September 1, 1912, he died at the age of thirty-seven. When Menelik II died a little more than a year later, on December 12, 1913, American blacks who had followed his reign believed that the world had lost a great statesman. To Meta Fuller and other Americans of African descent, Menelik II had been a heroic figure since 1896, when his army, under General Raz Makonnen, defeated the Italian army at the Battle of Adowa (Adua) Pass. This victory made the Emperor the first contemporary, African monarch to frustrate the colonial aspirations of a European power. Like Coleridge-Taylor, Menelik II was a symbol of pride; for while black Americans were denigrated, he represented a strong, African leader who demanded respect from the European nations with which he dealt.²

Such was the image that Meta sought to capture in her relief of Menelik. The tablet shows the enthroned king dressed in full imperial regalia. Furthermore, the depiction suggests strongly the attributes of a man who was said to have been physically imposing as well as politically powerful, even though the artist had worked solely from written descriptions and photographs.

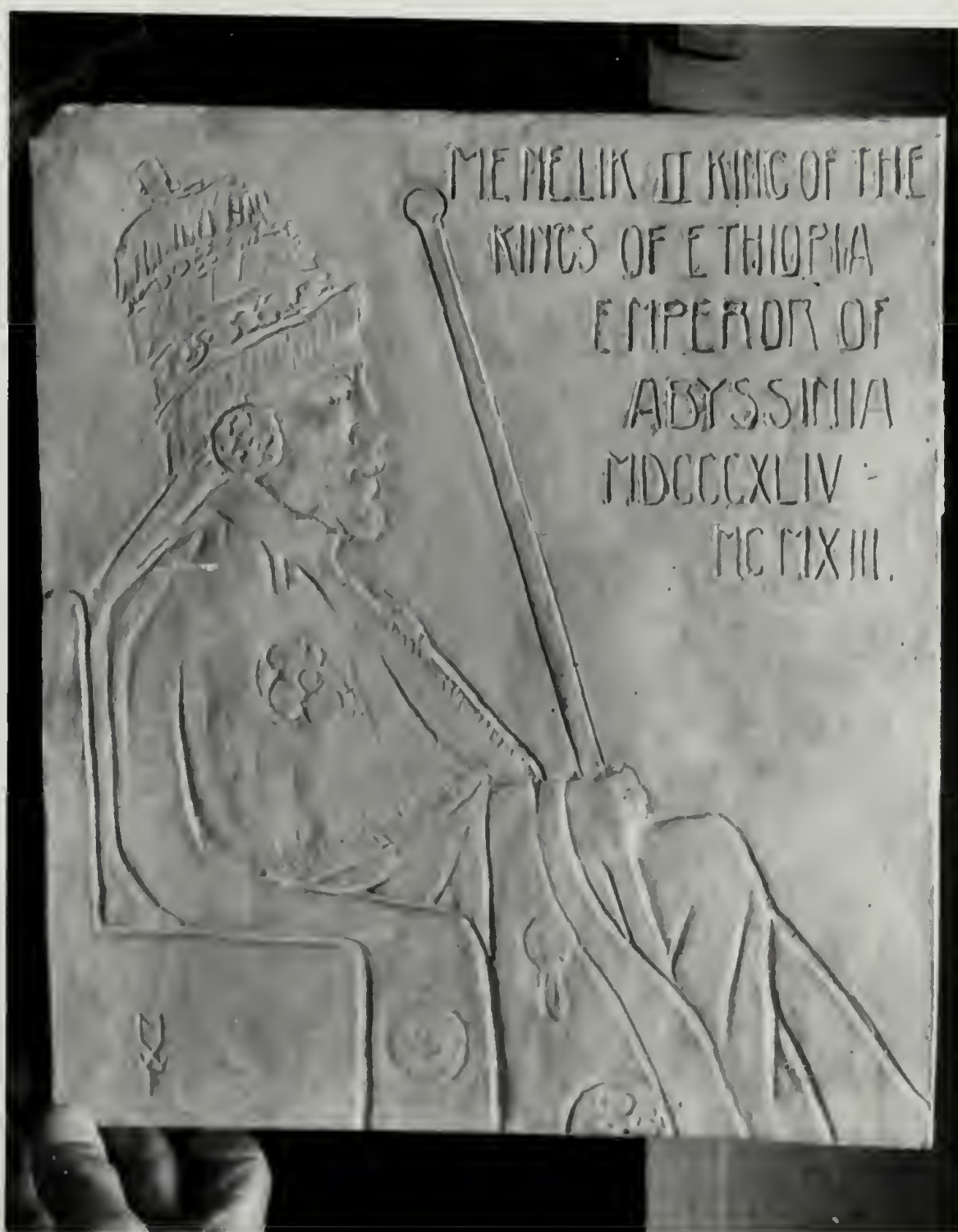


Fig. 25. Emperor Menelik II of Abyssinia

By contrast, Meta's relief of Samuel Coleridge-Taylor was based on the experience of having seen him on one of his concert visits to the United States. Her memories of the Philadelphia recital that she attended shaped her portrait of him. Meta remembered "Sometimes I Feel Like a Motherless Child" as his first selection. She still could see his face, "thrown into profile like a cameo" as his "entire being entered into the simple melody of what he played." It was that "bittersweet isolation" that she recalled when she undertook his relief. She felt like Coleridge-Taylor had returned "to portray his features as [she] had seen them that night in Witherspoon Hall."³

In the Spring of 1914, Meta held her first public exhibition in more than five years. Her April, one-woman show at the Boston Public Library contained twenty-two artworks in all. Meta combined sculpture done during the preceeding six months, such as Menelik II and Samuel Coleridge-Taylor, with a number of older pieces. Among the latter were The Jester (Gestar), from her days at the Pennsylvania Museum School; John, the Paris study; and a replica of The Four Seasons. She also exhibited two fragmentary studies and the second model of The Spirit of Emancipation.⁴

In addition to the Boston Public Library exhibit, Meta received her first offer of work that spring. The Fairmount Park Art Association of Philadelphia invited her to compete for the memorial that it was planning in honor of Robert Morris, a Pennsylvania member of the Continental Congress and the founder of the Bank of North America. Meta had hoped that The Spirit of Emancipation would lead to other commissions; but,

she was not interested in the Philadelphia monument because "though a worthy enough character. . . a financier of the Revolution meant little" to her. As she explained to a friend later, the Robert Morris was "too personal." She "would have been less hampered," if the theme "had been something in common with the Negro. . . ."5

Even though Meta did not compete for the Robert Morris memorial, she was ready to do more serious work than the domestic pieces with which she had occupied herself recently. But, in order to be free to concentrate on a major project, she required "competent help" with household chores. With a little effort on her part, finding a housekeeper was a relatively easy task. Obtaining a sufficient amount of money to fund large or numerous pieces was a more difficult problem to resolve because she was earning very little independently at this time. For instance, after the November death of black journalist-historian William Carl Bolivar, a close friend of the Warrick family, Meta wanted to donate a memorial tablet honoring him to Philadelphia's Episcopal Church of St. Thomas, where he had been a member. She would send similar plaques there in memory of her father, William Warrick, who had served on its vestry, and in memory of her sister Blanche. Unfortunately, she could not afford the bronze necessary to cast them. Although she had "always been partial to bronze," she thought about using marble instead, because it was less expensive. She even was willing to consider terra-cotta, which would save both time and money. But, in the end, as she wrote Bolivar's cousin, Freeman Murray, she "hardly [knew] what to do--if anything."6

In part, Meta's financial dilemma was rooted in the unresolved question of The Spirit of Emancipation's disposition. The Emancipation Proclamation Anniversary Commission had given her a year to modify the group; but, by the Spring of 1914, she had decided ultimately that changes were unnecessary. Consequently, she had had an agent from the Gorham foundry come to Framingham to give her an estimate for casting the sculpture. She was sure that when the commission heard the thirty-eight hundred to four thousand dollar price that Gorham had quoted, there "would be no bronze cast." So, when more than a year passed with no word from the organization and no effort on its part to reclaim the Emancipation group, she assumed that it was trying to raise the money for casting. Still, Meta began to view the commission's inability to resolve matters quickly as a personal disadvantage. She had used Dr. Fuller's money to complete the statuery--something that she believed she had "had no right" to do "without some return." Moreover, his constant reminders that the undertaking had been a loss to them rather than a gain made her reluctant to ask his help in funding other endeavors, such as the St. Thomas Church memorial plaques. Meta expressed her frustration over the whole situation in responding to a letter from Freeman Murray. She complained that for the commission "to collect subscriptions. . .for a sum so large while I am at an utter loss--seems unfair to say the least."⁷

Murray's letter was an enclosure in a packet containing a book manuscript called "Emancipation and the Freed in American Sculpture," which Meta found when the Fuller's returned from Atlantic City after the

Christmas holidays. For several years, Murray had been delivering slide lectures and writing articles on the Negro in American sculpture. And, in the process of organizing and revising this material for publication in book form, he had sent Meta his monograph to read critically. "It is with a great deal of amusement that I read your request to criticise your manuscript gramatically rhetorically artistically," she wrote back, "you must have a very high opinion of my ability along these lines-- nevertheless, 'your rashness be upon your head'. . . . You see I have always been looked upon as a mere child in spite of my years by both brothers and uncles--even 'make believe' brothers. . .and so you see they have always criticised me--the position seems an entirely new one. . . ."8

One of Meta's first suggestions was that Murray include her childhood friend May Howard Jackson among his sculptors. "I can't think that you are among those who dislike her, and even if you were, I believe I know you well enough to be sure that you would not allow any ill feeling to influence your regard for her ability." Murray could not mention Jackson in the main body of his text because her sculpture, which depicted Negro half-caste elites, did not apply to his subject. But, he did list her in his appendix, along with other noteworthy, black sculptors.⁹

A central issue of Murray's monograph, one that also concerned Meta as a black artist, was the accuracy, or the lack thereof, in portraying Negroes in American Sculpture. Over and over again, he decried the tendency of American artists to exaggerate black features to the point of caricature, or to tone them down in order to suit a European concept of

beauty. His objection to the latter was "partly based on the supposition that this toning has for one of its reasons a tinge of arrogance" He believed that a sculptor might have the best intentions--the desire to make his subject look "acceptable", but this motivation only served to disclose and confirm "arrogance or excessive, if unconscious pride." The notion that those of African ancestry "would look better if _____," according to Murray, was like the story of the Englishman who "thought the Germans would be acceptable people if they would give up their 'gibberish' and learn to speak English." Although Meta agreed with Murray's objections in principle, occasionally she tried to make him see that in some instances, other artistic considerations might override the question of Race and Aesthetics. Elihu Vedder's Sibilla Cumaea was such a case.¹⁰

The most reknown of the Roman sibyls was the Cumaean Sibyl, who had authored nine scrolls containing oracles in the fifth century B.C. The Sibyl offered to sell them to Tarquin, the King, but he declined. She left, only to return and tell the ruler that she had burned three scrolls. The Sibyl offered him the six that remained; however, she wanted the same price for the six that she had asked for the nine. Turned away again, she burned three more. When the Sibyl appeared before Tarquin for the third time, she informed him that she was willing to sell the remaining oracles, but only for the original amount. Convinced finally of her divinations' value, the King bought the last three scrolls. He deposited them in the Roman Archives, where they were consulted on all important occasions.¹¹

The Cumaean Sibyl's story fascinated Elihu Vedder and he depicted her in several works of art. The best-known was The Cumaean Sibyl, a 38 x 59 inch oil on canvas, painted in 1876. She was also the subject of two busts, both entitled Sibilla Cumaea, which the artist sculpted twenty years later. The Sibilla Cumaea of Freeman Murray's essay was an 11 x 6 x 9½ inch bronze on a red marble base. The Sibyl's head and shoulders are draped voluminously in this version.

The model for all was Jane Jackson, an old black woman whom Vedder had known in New York City during the Civil War. An ex-slave, Jackson used to sell peanuts on a street corner near his Broadway studio, in order to support herself while her son fought in the Union Army. In his 1910 memoir, The Digressions of V., the artist recalled that Jackson's "meekly bowed head and a look of patient endurance" under such circumstances "touched my heart and we became friends." He convinced her to have a photograph taken and to sit for a sketch, which he reproduced as a tondo oil painting. And, eleven years later, when he sought to communicate a mood (a darker view of the world resulting from the death of his son) in the Cumaean sibyls, Jane Jackson came to mind.¹²

To Freeman Murray, however, the painted Cumaean Sibyl bore little, if any, resemblance to Jackson, and the Sibilla Cumaea was only a slight improvement. Jane's patient expression had become grave in the Sibyl. Murray observed: "the lips of the Sibyl are more compressed and the corners of her mouth drawn down, thus arching her upper lip and giving her an expression of cynicism not free from contemptuousness. . . ." Furthermore, although he recognized that Latin sources for the Roman Sibyl never identified her as African, he objected that Vedder had

"toned" the features of the Sibilla Cumaea so much--by sharpening her nose, thinning her lips ("even more than cynicism would require"), and giving her such long, straight hair--that "one would scarcely surmise on looking at her that her original was a Negro woman."¹³

Meta believed that Murray had been too inflexible in his criticism; however, she promised him that she would see Vedder's artworks herself. First, she went to nearby Wellesley College which owned The Cumaean Sibyl. Impressed by the magnitude of the Wellesley sibyl, she sent Murray a complete description of the painting. "The figure is seen at full length well up in the foreground, facing from left to right across the canvas. . .climbing a slight incline, somewhat bent over, staff in hand," Meta wrote. "Her skin was of a dusky brown--her hair was black and crisp but long enough to blow in the wind with her head drapery. Her black eyes sparkled." She observed that the Sibyl's "lips were full just short of 'heavy'" and that her "nose was well chizzled with sensitive dilated nostrils." Furthermore, "there were the earrings of the primitive African [Meta drew small loops here] [and] on the right upper arm a snake bracelet which suggested also the African. . . ." Next, Meta turned to the landscape: "In the distance could be seen a snow capped mountain the clouds were breaking around them--the light which shown from the opening served to throw the head and shoulders of the figure in bold relief--the remainder of the picture is sombre in tone. The clouds, the stunted straggly trees the smoke from the smouldering grass and brush, the draperies, the staff and all 'point' forward in the direction which the figure is 'going' and serve to carry out the

sensation of wind and motion." Meta's artistic opinion was that The Cumean Sibyl was the most important picture that Wellesley owned.¹⁴

The week following her visit to the college gallery, Meta went to the Boston Public Library, where she located a copy of The Digressions of V. This volume contained an illustration of the Jane Jackson sketch as well as Vedder's sketch of the Sibilla Cumaea. Once Meta had the drawings before her and had read the relevant passages, she recognized that Vedder had intended his sculpture to represent an "ideal." Thus, in a second letter to Freeman Murray, she explained: ". . .comparing these two [The Cumaeen Sibyl and the Sibilla Cumaea] with his drawing 'Jane Jackson' I should say that whatever liberties he has taken in his painting of the subject were justified--if he has sharpened the nose it did not serve to remove the African--it is there still. . . . Then if he has caused the corners of the mouth to droop--(less in the Wellesly Sibyl)--it is to emphacise the character." Meta thought that Murray's error lay in his belief that "just because a person has a sitter before them they are duty bound to copy all they see." She reminded him that there was "Artistic" license as well as poetic license. "Art is not copying," she wrote, "anyone with a reasonable amount of training can copy but it is for the artist to take or leave what he chooses to discriminate--to exaggerate here--to suppress there to reconstruct somewhere else--anything that will give emphasis to the inner being he wishes to represent--this is where genius comes in. Therefore, I should not condemn Vedder for any liberties he has taken with the brush--they are his right."¹⁵

Murray tempered his criticism of the Sibilla Cumaea, based upon Meta's advice. He conceded in his final draft that the transformation of Jane Jackson's patient expression to a sterner one in the Sibyl was a necessary character interpretation. Because of the change, "it would not be difficult to imagine this Sibyl to be capable of penetrating, and even foreseeing, men's plots and plans. . .while her own inner realization of humanity's essentially dependent impotence would be likely to arouse such thought as are indicated by her scarce-hidden sneer." Although he remained opposed to "toning" in general, he amended his critique in Vedder's case by stating: "it should be remembered that it was not Jane as an individual, nor Jane as a representative of any race, but her story, her character, and her 'look'. . .that he embodied in the Sibyl."¹⁶

Sometime thereafter, Murray received a letter from Elihu Vedder, dated in Rome, that corroborated Meta's view and, thereby, justified Murray's revisions. The artist revealed: "I simply took Jane Jackson, that type of a soul patiently biding its time, and put into the picture . . .the idea of the 'Cumaeen Sibyl'; thus converting Nature to Art."¹⁷

Even though Meta had disagreed with Freeman Murray's assessment of Vedder's Cumaeen sibyls, Auburn, New York's Memorial to Harriet Tubman (Davis) was a different matter. Designed and cast in bronze by the John Williams Foundry, the tablet bore a laurel-surrounded portrait of Tubman in her final years. The main section of the inscription read:

CALLED THE "MOSES" OF HER PEOPLE
DURING THE CIVIL WAR, WITH RARE
COURAGE, SHE LED OVER THREE HUNDRED
NEGROES UP FROM SLAVERY TO FREEDOM,

AND RENDERED INVALUABLE SERVICE
AS NURSE AND SPY

WITH IMPLICIT TRUST IN GOD
SHE BRAVED EVERY DANGER AND
OVERCAME EVERY OBSTACLE, WITHAL
SHE POSSESSED EXTRAORDINARY
FORESIGHT AND JUDGMENT SO THAT
SHE TRUTHFULLY SAID-
"ON MY UNDERGROUND RAILROAD
I NEBBER RUN MY TRAIN OFF DE TRACK
AND I NEBBER LOS A PASSENGER."

The Historical Association of Cuyuga County had commissioned the plaque as a gift from the people of Auburn, following the abolitionist's death in March, 1913. A year later, the association had unveiled the tablet in a dedication ceremony at the County Courthouse, with Booker Washington as its guest speaker.¹⁸

The memorial disgusted Freeman Murray. When he had seen the photograph of Tubman that accompanied the Auburn Citizen's story about the ceremony and had compared it to the plaque, he had noticed a marked difference between "this 'likeness' and the one on the tablet." Meta read his distaste in the pages of his manuscript. He found it "difficult to view the facial features of this heroine as depicted on this tablet without wincing at what must be called. . .the bald literalness of the portrayal." The depiction was so literal that, in his opinion, it had "been carried quite beyond the limits of good taste." Even though "this woman whose life-history is like a romance and a hero tale combined, lived. . .to a great age," Murray told his readers, ". . .it is probably that for relatively only a short period of her life, were her features as shriveled, mis-shapened, and pitifully distorted, as they are here depicted--if indeed they ever were." Therefore, he had concluded that

"if the artist intended to do something 'striking', he failed; for what he did was merely stupid." Murray had felt that the "people of Auburn, where Mrs. Davis lived so long and where she died," could manage to tolerate, for Art's sake, "the haggish physiognomy" seen on the tablet, because they had known her true character. On the other hand, he stated: "many of us who were outside of her personal acquaintance, although we would be pleased to see her work and her sacrifice properly commemorated, . . . find it difficult to reconcile such raw realism. . . with genuine, deep-seated respect. . . ." Meta read that the use of Negro dialect had only reinforced Murray's objections. He believed that such honors as the Tubman memorial were "too much like 'puddings rolled to us in the dust'." ¹⁹

Meta received a letter from Murray asking her opinion of the plaque and whether his criticisms had been too harsh. She responded that she did not think the work "any too strong." She explained her own reservations by comparing the portrayal to Rodin's She who was once the Helmet-Maker's Beautiful Wife. "Rodin. . . made his 'old woman' as old and worn out as can be--but to me, aside from the fact that her life is obviously at its ebb--there is something refined and elegant tho hopeless about her." Thus, her recommendation was: "if the thing is repulsive--say so --it need not have been. . . ." ²⁰

Her advice relieved Murray because, as he wrote Meta later, "it may be that in my stuff I am too touchy and make my criticisms seem over-severe. . . . The fact is I have not the gift of insinuation nor the graces of diplomacy." As for Meta, the more she thought about the Auburn tablet, the stronger became her conviction that Harriet could

have been portrayed more sympathetically. Speaking to Mrs. Johnson, the matron of Boston's Harriet Tubman Settlement House, supported her belief; Johnson had seen the abolitionist-reformer in person. Furthermore, she had a photograph of Tubman which Meta borrowed so that she might "someday have a try at her portrait."²¹

Often, Meta would have to put off work because sculpture was expensive to produce and she was earning little money. This circumstance disheartened her. "I have come to believe that poverty and ambition are always hand in hand--at least it seems so with our race," she wrote Freeman Murray, who was having financial difficulties as a scholar. She believed that had she lived "in the days of the old masters," when kings and governments granted commissions, she "might be an 'old master'." She felt that her chances of becoming one in the future, however, were slim. "Still," she added, "how do we know but what many such poor little I, died in obscurity within a stone's throw of Michael Angelo?"²²

Meta was able to supplement her income occasionally. Her consideration of a Harriet Tubman portrait coincided with an offer to teach pre-school modeling to a group of kindergarten teachers. Although she did not know how much they would pay, or even if their offer had been serious, she hoped the job would "be a means of going on with my other work. . . ." Meta had not heard from the teachers for a while and wanted to pursue the matter herself. Not hearing from them only increased her melancholy. "This morning I got up feeling so blue," she told Murray on February 8, the week following her first letter. "I felt that the time will never come when I can give the work the attention

necessary--what is the use??" Even though she did not think it proper to "burden" him with her misgivings, she had to admit: "it is awful to feel that you have power that you cannot make use of."²³

In fact, nothing seemed to be going well for poor Meta. The housekeeper she had hired in January was quitting after only a month. So hesitant to share her frustration with Murray one week, she poured out her anxiety the next: "I shall lose my maid again on Monday!! What shall I do?" Meta was seldom able to keep one very long. Whether sculpting in her attic or performing community service, such as directing a play for the Red Cross or helping to raise money for Atlanta University, Meta would be too preoccupied to instruct her maids properly. As a result, the maids would be left to their own devices in coping with Meta's active, pre-school boys as well as the housework. For the housekeepers, white women who may have been hesitant to work for Negro employers in the first place, these duties would prove overwhelming, leaving the Fullers dissatisfied with their services and them unhappy in their work. The latest wanted "a place where there are not children--bless her--," Meta reported. "I can't kill my poor children nor would I if I could. . . ."²⁴

Meta did not look forward to resuming full responsibility for the housework. She longed for the day when there would be "'cooperative housekeeping' or 'progressive housekeeping' or 'municipal housekeeping' any thing to give us food and rayment and cleanliness without the drudgery that takes us away from the work we love. Why did God in his wisdom give us work to do to keep us out of mischief and then Man come along and try to improve on it and invent other work to do that would

cause us to neglect God's work?" she lamented. "That is all it is--else why to [sic] men come home from work and expect to find a smiling face, clean house and all that goes with it and then proceed to sprinkle ashes over the floor--and shirtfront--scatter the newspaper--books & anything within reach, pile up his desk with old letters and defy anyone to disturb them, and then complain of an untidy house?!!" To Meta, trying to rejuvenate her art career while managing this household seemed a Sisyphean task indeed, but she resolved "to fight it out all over or try once more."²⁵

When she was feeling most dejected, Meta read in the Crisis Magazine that she had been a nominee for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People's first Spingarn Medal, given for "real and meritorious accomplishment among colored men and women." The NAACP's purpose in establishing its prize had been two-fold: to foster race pride among black Americans and to bring to the attention of white Americans blacks who had made significant contributions in a number of fields. Because the organization had invited the public to make nominations for its award, Meta suspected that Freeman Murray had submitted her name. She learned later that both she and her husband had been candidates for the medal--she for her achievements in Art and he for his in Medicine. Dr. Fuller "was as mad as a hatter when he found out," she reported in a letter to Murray, dated March 29. He believed that achievement in one's work should be its own reward and did not like publicity of any kind. On the other hand, the honor lifted Meta's spirits tremendously. "I will soon be so puffed up that I shall fall over backwards," she confessed.²⁶

In mid-March, during the same period that her name appeared in the Crisis, Meta received a request for an article on Art from the Fisk Herald, the journal of Fisk University in Nashville, Tennessee. It was an assignment that she was pleased to accept. She had begun to contemplate writing in addition to sculpture as a means of making social observations. For example, several weeks earlier, she had wanted to address herself to the injustice of the American color-line, by writing an article on a young girl whom the courts of the District of Columbia had denied the right to attend a white school in her newly integrated neighborhood because she was one-sixteenth part Negro. When Meta had mentioned this idea to her husband, he had suggested that she "stick to sculpture" because there was "enough bad literature on the market." Although Meta was aware that her prose was not the best, she decided to "turn a deaf ear" to Dr. Fuller's advice. She justified her decision later, saying that she had a message to the public which she could not deliver through sculpture alone. "If I could I surely would," she explained, "and if it takes me to the end of my days I will make the attempt. 'I simply must'."²⁷

Meta spent all of her leisure time preparing the Fisk Herald article. Many of her ideas were predicated on the belief commonly held among Black Americans that achievement was the key to eventual social acceptance, that is, white society's realization that blacks made important contributions to American culture. To Meta, the black American's role in the evolution of an identifiable American art was assured because, in her opinion, he was "more artistic than his Anglo-Saxon brethren" temperamentally.

With the exception of the field of Architecture, specifically in office building design, Meta maintained that "a national art of America, something sui generis" did not exist formerly. She perceived, however, "the dawn of a new day in American artistic effort approaches" and was certain that "in the work of the coming day every element of the American people" would "lend a hand." So many races composed the American people that the thorough amalgamation of diverse racial viewpoints which would be necessary to develop a distinctive American art could not be expected to happen soon. Still, Meta was convinced that "possessed of considerable artistic talent," the Negro-American would contribute his share to the American art of the future, "despite the enormous hindrances that beset him on every hand." She pointed out, however, that great art could not be "confined within any such narrow limits as the boundaries of nations; or even of a race of men," that it was "bounded only by its appeal to men wherever they may be. . . ." Hence, "while racial and national self-consciousness may have great influences on the art of a race or nation, a broad eclecticism which utilizes the good influences of any foreign origin may be, and often is, combined to those impulses of the immediate vicinity." In America, for example, European traditions still dominated all artistic endeavors; yet, something native was gradually making itself apparent. Meta noted that in Music, the only distinctive characteristics were derived from Negro sources. But, she also stated carefully, borrowing a concept from Du Bois: "that is not saying. . . that American music is being made African," only that "no great art of a people where one-tenth of them show no uncommon gifts in this art can be cultivated without the influence of this gifted tenth."

It followed, therefore, that Henry Ossawa Tanner's identity as a member of the Negro race was secondary to his position as a "great painter of Biblical subjects" in terms of Art, while to his fellow Negro-Americans, his distinction as a great painter formed "an essential part of the mass of incontrovertible evidence" of their capability. Thus, Meta's message to her Fisk Herald readers was that "no young Negro man or woman who has decided artistic ability need be discouraged from making an attempt at expression."²⁹

By the first week in April, Meta had completed a first draft of "The Relation of the Negro to American Art," which, subsequently, she read to her husband. Dr. Fuller was as exacting in his expectations of her work as he was of the articles that he received as editor of Westborough Hospital's medical journal. In fact, he was so dissatisfied with her writing that he assumed the responsibility of revising it himself. The next time Meta saw her article, he had "pulled it to pieces . . . so that one would scarcely recognize it in its new garb." She did not know how she could sign her name to her work conscientiously, if he slashed the rest like he had done the first two pages. But, the ideas remained the same and she supposed that she could "get around it by signing (Mrs.) S. C. Fuller."³⁰

Writing helped to take Meta's mind off several unfinished business matters relating to sculpture. The unresolved question of The Spirit of Emancipation's final disposition had proven to be troubling indeed. Earlier in the year, Meta had received a request to exhibit the statuary at the upcoming Chicago World's Fair. But, she was forced to tell Alfred B. Ellis, from whom the request came, that the choice of another

"special subject" would be better. W.E.B. Du Bois had claimed the Emancipation group as the New York State Emancipation Anniversary Commission's property; whereas in Meta's experience, only the final caste customarily belonged to the purchaser. As a result, she was not free to act upon the Chicago request until she cleared up the misunderstanding with Du Bois and the commission.³¹

By April, more than a year had passed since the commission's agreement to redeem the Emancipation group. Meta wanted to confront Du Bois, but Dr. Fuller advised strongly against it. Deprived of her husband's support and unable to believe that a friend such as Du Bois could treat her so shabbily, she poured out her hurt and frustration in a letter to Freeman Murray. Undoubtedly, Meta felt that she could speak frankly to Murray about Du Bois because he was her friend and the Doctor's, and because he was acquainted with Du Bois on a professional as well as a personal level. From 1907 to 1910, L.M. Hershaw, Du Bois, and he had been co-editors of Horizon, the Niagara Movement's publication and the predecessor of the Crisis. Du Bois "seemed all enthusiasm until the thing arrived at the hall and from that time on he seemed to ignore me," Meta said. "There was a ball the last night of the affair--he dance all the evening and never so much as looked in my direction so far as I know Is it your opinion that it was necessary for you or me to remind him that there was a sculptor whose name was Meta Warrick. . . ?" Then, she continued: "As to Dr. Fuller, if he sees a fault in DuB [he] will not admit it. I never mention the matter any more but when I spoke of how he ignored, he said I was super sensitive and expected too much praise, that there was nothing to fall 'hed over heels about' he may

have treated it this way that I might not feel it so keenly--but it failed in its effect--and if one may not confide one's true feelings to their husband--then to whom pray?" Of course, the similarity between Solomon's reaction to the Emancipation Exposition Ball incident and her efforts to settle her dispute with the exposition's commission aggravated Meta. Her attempts lost momentum and floundered under the impediment of his admonition not to pursue matters for the sake of friendship. Without Meta's insistence, the New York State Emancipation Commission remained intransigent.³²

Meta had been experiencing similar problems with the local branch of the Equal Suffrage League, to which she belonged. In March, the group had begun to make fund-raising plans. Anxious to do her part, Meta had believed that she could serve best in her capacity as an artist. Consequently, a fellow leaguer had suggested that, in addition to the poster that the organization would be selling, Meta might sell sculpture from a booth at the town hall. Meta had felt that this "would neither be dignified nor profitable" for the organization or herself. Instead, she had proposed a medallion which could be made in any size, from a dime upward. The medallion would serve a better purpose than the poster because its motif could be used and reused as a button, as a seal, or as a souvenir medal--whatever a particular occasion demanded. Meta had said that she could employ the poster design or another, if the group preferred. (Personally, she considered that design "bad though not without qualities.") In either case, she would charge the Equal Suffrage League for the plaster only.

The general membership had been amenable to her idea, but the Ways and Means Committee had wanted to know "just how many reliefs 12 ins. in diameter could be turned out of one barrel of plaster at three dollars per barrel?" Meta had lived in Massachusetts long enough to become accustomed to Yankee ways, but "Oh ye Gods of New England thrift!!!!" she thought. She had tried to show them that at least sixty could be turned out and that their expenditure would be covered when thirty were sold at ten cents a piece. Her explanation had seemed acceptable to the committee.

Meta had felt that the league had been close to making a decision, until a member's husband had pointed out that the medallions would "sell like hot cakes" if they depicted Town Hall--a suggestion which, if implemented, could embroil the Equal Suffrage League further in controversy by involving it in a local class squabble. Town Hall was situated in Framingham Center, the original village, where the town's upper-class families, including a number of league members, now resided. For years, however, South Framingham, the commercial district, increasingly had overshadowed Framingham Center. Finally, its postal station had been designated the Main Post Office, while that of the Center had become Station A. This event broke the hearts of the Center's "aristocrats", as Meta reported later, because they had always considered themselves superior to South Framingham residents. Subsequently, they had formed the Framingham Improvement Association and had leased Town Hall and other Framingham Center sites in order to restore their colonial appearance as a reminder of the Center's historical significance. Because the improvement association also needed money, the suffrage leaguer's

husband was convinced that both organizations could benefit, if the league would sell all of its medallions (picturing Town Hall) to the improvement association. The Equal Suffrage League's money would be assured and the Framingham Improvement Association, which he believed would have more customers than the suffrage group, would obtain its funds through resale.³³

To Meta, the whole plan was unsatisfactory. She had wanted to create an artwork whose theme was identifiably women's suffrage, but "as usual they don't seem to want the thing that I believe would be most desirable." In her opinion, money had become the overriding issue, while she had wished "to do something that would do me credit from an artistic point of view since I am only charging them for the plaster." Characteristically, she had believed that the equal suffrage sculpture might have been a way of attracting other assignments. Now, it seemed that she was destined to be caught in the middle of a transaction in which everyone would profit except her. Meta had heard no more about this scheme since March, when the Ways and Means Committee chairman had decided that further deliberations were necessary. But personally, she had "half a mind to throw the thing up and do something with the Peace Group which is now forming."³⁴

Meanwhile, Meta tried to generate more work on her own. She wrote to the State of New York and offered to create a monument similar to that for Harriet Tubman, in honor of abolitionist Sojourner Truth. In July, she received a disheartening response: New York declined. Meta surmised that her three hundred to five hundred dollar price had been too high, despite her effort to quote an amount that would be reasonable

"for a state appropriation." "Luckily I don't have to live by my work." she wrote a friend later. "I should surely starve." Yet, she believed that she could make sculpting a viable career--could do so regardless of other demands on her time and energy. She had done so again and again. Still, thirty-eight-year-old Meta could sense the creep of middle age, and the circumstance that worried her most was that she could not "make many more starts" because she was "not growing any younger."³⁵

For Meta, July was a terrible month, with more disappointments to come. She received the issue of the Fisk Herald containing her essay, "The Relation of the Negro to American Art," and was annoyed because, in her opinion, the editor had stripped her writing of its fire. She had written a rebuttal of the assertion that the Negro was incapable of great artistic achievement. She had argued that the race actually was more artistic than its Anglo-Saxon detractors. Yet, by the time the editor had finished "taming [her prose] down," she wrote Freeman Murray later, she seemed to have claimed that the Anglo-Saxon was "not particularly artistic" and that the Negro was "just as artistic as the opposite race." What had been an impassioned plea to aspiring black artists not to be dissuaded from pursuing their inclinations now seemed so garbled that it no longer was the powerful encouragement that she had intended. Meta hated to read it. The Framingham Equal Suffrage League's final decision also made Meta unhappy. It wanted medallions with a women's suffrage theme for an end-of-the-summer fair. In short, the league wanted her to rush the medallions, after keeping her waiting for months. To Meta, this seemed to be "more trouble than its worth. . .but a promise is a promise with me."³⁶

C H A P T E R X I

SERMONS IN CAULDRONS OF BRONZE

The Equal Suffrage Medallion was worth Meta's trouble. In September, she was able to report that it had sold well at the fair and was continuing to do so. Furthermore, she had received recognition for her contribution to the suffrage campaign fund in the local newspaper. Perhaps the medallion's popularity rested on a general sense, as expressed in the Framingham News, that "it beautifully typifi[ed] the message of equal suffrage without having the limits of propaganda." Indeed, Meta had chosen to equate the nation to a strong, united family--an institution to which women contributed significantly--thereby justifying women's right to full participation in national political affairs. "Each unto each the rounded compliment," a line from an old poem, was the motto she had selected to accompany the picture of a man, a woman, and a child in profile. Because of the subtlety that Meta had employed in creating her Equal Suffrage Medallion, it would be "a thing of beauty and a message of truth long after the vote is won throughout the country," according to the town paper.¹

By 1915, the world war had begun to divide Americans along ethnic lines as never before. The xenophobia that had plagued the nation since the late nineteenth century was climaxing. As a result, there was a tremendous escalation of effort on the part of "progressive" reformers to naturalize and assimilate the foreign-born.²



Fig. 26. Equal Suffrage Medallion

The National Americanization Committee was one of the organizations carrying on this work in New York City. Composed of eminent citizens such as Mary Austin, Thomas Edison, Mrs. Vincent Astor, James Cardinal Gibbons, and Joseph A. Schiff, the committee waged a campaign with three slogans, according to the New York Times: "America First," "The English Language First", and "Efficiency." It aimed to promote "internal preparedness" by "welding the immigrants who come in from all over Europe into a single nation." It sought, thereby, to encourage "the conservation of the labor supply and prevent labor wars, and to make the workmen doing the manual labor of the country realize that they are part of a country with duties privileges and responsibilities."³

A strong believer in the National Americanization Committee's work was New York socialite Gertrude Vanderbilt Whitney, a sculptor and a well-known patron of the arts. In the summer of 1915, the NAC, Frances Kellor, editor of its Immigrant in America Review, and Whitney joined forces to sponsor an art competition. According to the contest announcement, which appeared in the review's August issue, prizes would be awarded for the painting, black and white drawing, poster, and sculpture that best represented America as the land of freedom and opportunity, a country whose vitality was based upon a fusion of races, traditions, and social forces. Whitney and Kellor put forth a patriotic call to the nation's artists "to inspire both native-born and foreign-born citizens with better mutual understanding by setting forth the ideals of a unified America." Word of the art contest was disseminated further in such newspapers and periodicals as the New York Times and The Outlook.⁴

Meta Fuller was among those who answered the call. She never considered the Equal Suffrage Medallion a major work that would continue to be a credit, so the Immigrant in America Contest was another opportunity to enhance her artistic reputation. It was a chance to have her sculpture seen by people who were influential in American art circles for, as she had read, sculptors Frank X. Leyendecker and Paul Manship were jury members. Furthermore, the competition's aim to promote ethnic harmony was equally, if not more important, because, as a member of an oppressed race, Meta detested bigotry of any kind.⁵

Meta's search for imagery that would embody the spirit of the competition in her Immigrant in America led to the writing of two poets: Emma Lazarus, whose "The New Colossus" was inscribed on the Statue of Liberty, and Robert Haven Schauffler, who, in "Scum o' the Earth", decried discrimination against immigrants whose older and more honorable cultures had produced geniuses such as Socrates, Dvorak, Dante and Caesar. To Lazarus, America was the "Mother of Exiles", while to Schauffler, those new to America's shores were "children in whose frail arms shall rest,/ Prophets and singers and saints of the West." To Meta, then, the perfect definition of the relationship between America and immigrants was the maternal one implicit in the works of Lazarus and Schauffler. Subsequently, the sculpture that took shape in her hands, the one she sent to New York, depicted America, the dominant figure, as a strong, compassionate woman, the mother of a healthy daughter, comforting a refugee and her two children. Meta inscribed the four-figured, pyramidal group with Schauffler's words--a subtle message that the foreign-born might never fulfill their potential for contributing to



Fig. 27. The Immigrant in America

American society as long as the nation refused to welcome them into its family and nurture them as its children.⁶

On December 15, 1915, the results of the Immigrant in America Contest appeared in The Outlook. Meta read that the first prize of five-hundred dollars had gone to Beniamino Bufano, a young Italian-American, whose thirty-figure group, bearing the words "I came unto my own and my own received me not," was a direct and forceful indictment of those who despised and exploited the immigrant. Later that month, Meta received her own statuette, broken and repaired. Losing and having her sculpture returned in such poor condition was disappointing, of course, but to Meta, these were minor setbacks. By this time, she was involved in other projects that she considered equally important.⁷

By this time, Meta was working on her entry for the Massachusetts Branch of the Women's Peace Party art contest. The Women's Peace Party was offering its prizes to the artists whose work best represented the "constructive peace movement." Meta had heard about the contest first at the beginning of the year, when neighbor Annie Merriam, active in the pacifist movement, suggested that she compete. Meta explained in a letter to Freeman Murray that her initial inspiration, in fact, had come from Annie's poem "Life in Search for Peace," which, in turn was based on Tennyson's lines: "Oh for the touch of a vanished hand, And the sound of a voice that is still." She could "see the thing almost immediately" and was anxious to begin at once. Although she was unable to "set pencil to paper. . .or touch a pinch of clay" because of other responsibilities, she continued to work it out mentally. Every day brought some change in Meta's vision--in her words, "some wiser and

saner portrayal."* And, she was "satisfied to wait for it," as she had done for The Spirit of Emancipation.⁸

In addition to sculpting, Meta had agreed to write an art column for New Era. This black "little magazine" was the latest enterprise of Pauline E. Hopkins, formerly associated with Boston's Colored American Magazine, the first Negro journal established in the twentieth century. Hopkins had been a frequent contributor from 1900 to 1904. She had written short stories, three lengthy series, and, because she believed that "history is biography," twenty-one, well-researched sketches of black achievers under the headings of "Famous Women of the Negro Race" and "Famous Men of the Negro Race." In 1904, she had left Colored American because of ill health; at least, this is what was reported in the journal's September issue. But those who were familiar with her politics believed that Hopkins had lost her job when Fred R. Moore, subsidized by Booker T. Washington, took over the magazine. W.E.B. Du Bois speculated that she had not been conciliatory enough for the new management. Subsequently, Hopkins had become a contributor to The Voice whose editor, J. Max Barber, had shared her disdain for Washington and his manipulations. Then in 1905, she had established her own publishing company in Cambridge, Massachusetts. There, she had published A Primer of Facts Pertaining to the Early Greatness of the African Race and the Possibility of Restoration by its Descendants, with Epilogue, a thirty-one page booklet.⁹

*Meta modeled several versions of her contest entry. Watching for the Dawn may have been the one based upon Annie Merriam's poem. There were seven figures in this group, representing individuals in various positions of prayer and watchfulness, with resignation awaiting the coming of peace.

Hopkins' latest venture, New Era, was in many ways a continuation of the literary traditions set by Colored American and The Voice. Hopkins wanted her magazine to be "the most authentic historian of the race's progress" and to be instrumental in "developing the literature, science, music, art, religion, facts, fiction, and tradition of the race throughout the world." Ironically, two coincidental events had encouraged her to believe that a literary magazine of this kind could succeed: Du Bois' Crisis attaining financial independence from the NAACP in November, 1915 and Booker Washington's death that same month. The Crisis' success illustrated the ability of a black magazine to survive financially with community support alone, while Washington's death loosened the strangle hold that his political machine had on the Negro press. Hopkins alluded to both factors in her editorial for New Era's premier issue, which she planned for February, 1916: "We know that there are publications already in the field, but the pangs that have set our active world a-borning is the knowledge that the colored man has lost the rights already won because he was persuaded and then bullied into lying down and ceasing the fight for civil liberty." She announced that her journal, following the example of its predecessors, would continue "to agitate for race rights" in addition to its other functions. With Washington gone, she sensed the birth of "a really new era in America." Perhaps at age fifty-nine, she would not see this renaissance in full flower, but she wanted to be part of its beginning.¹⁰

Meta sought to relay this optimistic spirit in the column she wrote to introduce New Era readers to her art series. "The day is at hand," she said, "when most people have been taught to draw; the time will come

when not to be able to draw will be as much a mark of ignorance as not being able to write." Since each generation seems to encourage artistic development at an earlier stage in its children's lives, she reasoned, "are we not, therefore, justified in experimenting with the youth of our own race with the hope of later discovering possibilities that may lead to a higher means of artistic achievement."¹¹

But why should Negro-Americans care about artistic development when there were more pressing social issues, such as the current world war, to be considered? Although world events affect the Negro "as surely as any other group of humanity," Meta stated, "he is simultaneously working out a destiny all his own." She believed that an "unsatisfied desire" for something other than religion and music, spheres in which the Negro formerly had found expression, has held him in its grasp. "He has long sought unknowingly the one element by which he can calm the tumult of his soul, that element of artistic achievement," she explained, in a self-revealing statement. Consequently, this "latent power of art" which, in fact, had always existed in the race, would be an integral part of its future. Meta did not wish to elaborate on the Negro's character or its adaptability to the art field as she had done in the Fisk Herald article; instead she argued that "in the realm of art," there was "more true democracy, genuine fraternity." She believed and tried to convince her readers that in charting its course, black America should "look to the full development in art. . . as a means of finding the place awaiting him among the foreranks of the mightiest nations of the world."¹²

Meta designed her column to help parents and teachers recognize the tendency toward graphic expression in their children and to assist older

beginners. The topics she planned to discuss over the coming months were, for example: "Brush Drawing", "Pastel Drawing", "Charcoal as a Medium", "Simple Application of Color", and "Composition." Essentially, this was a standard course of study which she attempted to facilitate by suggesting that readers form groups which could meet at regular intervals to try the ideas offered in the column. Meta was one of the first writers in a black journal to stress the need for such organization. She had borrowed the concept from Du Bois who had originated the idea a few months earlier, with his call for Horizon Clubs dedicated to Negro pageantry. Editor Pauline Hopkins liked this aspect of Meta's plans. In fact, she offered to announce that a prize would be awarded "to the individual or group of persons. . .who will have tried out any one or more of the instructions offered in the series" in New Era's second issue.¹³

In addition to her New Era art course, Meta visited community institutions and organizations to speak generally on the subject of Art or to demonstrate sculpting. For example, she lectured to more than three hundred teachers at Boston's normal school. Then, there was the city's black settlement house, Robert Gould Shaw House. Situated on Hammond Street, in the heart of the black community, Shaw House had been founded in 1908, with the "moral support" of Boston's Episcopal Diocese. Numerous programs for women and children took place there: a mothers' club whose weekly meetings were both civic and social: "Little Housekeepers" for girls; a Boy Scout troop; and, of course, arts and crafts classes which included Meta's specialty--clay modeling. Occasionally, Meta would be invited to give a lesson or two.¹⁴

By year's end, Meta was so busy that the stress she felt periodically from trying to balance family responsibility with various projects recurred. Guest lecturing was only a small part of her activity. Apart from the usual works-in-progress, such as her sculpture for the Women's Peace Party, there were two orders for bookends to be filled. On January 31, 1916, she borrowed some of her husband's Westborough State Hospital stationary and, with combined humor and seriousness, wrote Freeman Murray: "I am not an inmate of the above institution but there is no telling how soon I may be if I don't get some kind of help. I am so tired out trying to keep all my 'irons in the fire,' housework nursing and sculpture and occasionally church work but they dont. . .mix no matter how carefully I introduce the 'ingredients'." Meta had looked forward to a short, New York vacation after Christmas, but one by one, the family got the grippe. Because she had had to care for everyone else, she had been unable to rest sufficiently herself. Moreover, New Era editors had requested her article for the March issue while she was still sick. The effort to keep up with all this work had "completely unnerved" Meta. "I am tired out body and soul, and I see no chance of any change," she wrote.¹⁵

Meta's life did change, but in a way that she did not anticipate. In March, she discovered that she was pregnant again. Meta, who would be thirty-nine in June, did not want another child. She was convinced that having a baby now would be another complication in her already overburdened existence. Friends to whom she confided her apprehensions tried to assure her that everything would be fine, but she continued to fret.¹⁶

Meta's pregnancy may have been her reason for not accepting the NAACP's invitation to participate in its Amenia Conference. The conference came about because Booker T. Washington's death in November, 1915, had caused a power vacuum in the black community when mounting racial tension demanded strong leadership. Robert R. Moton, who had replaced Washington as Tuskegee's president, had desired to restore peace and unity among black leaders but lacked the political influence to implement it. Because Du Bois and the NAACP also had felt the need for truce, they had proposed a meeting of the leaders of the Negro race and its friends, to be held at Troutbeck, Joel Spingarn's Amenia, N.Y. estate in August. The aim of the conference was to discuss steps that might be taken (including political action) to advance the race. Those invited included the heads of all large, black organizations and experts in a variety of fields. Meta's views on opportunities for the Negro in Art were well-known among her New York, NAACP friends. In June, they sent her an invitation because they believed that she could contribute much to the summit. Even though Meta was interested in attending, she had to decline. Because her last pregnancy had been unsuccessful, she may have felt that by August, traveling might be imprudent.¹⁷

Three months later, on November 5, 1916, Meta gave birth to her third son, Perry James Fuller. Her adjustment to the new infant was slow, but in May 1917, she wrote old friend Angelina Weld Grimké: "I have the dearest best little baby--he means more than either of the others. I don't know why but, it is so." Meta had been in Cambridge to see a production of Angelina's new play*; although she had been "carried

*The play that Meta attended was probably Rachel, which Alain Locke helped to produce in 1916.

away. . .with the whole thing," she wanted "Nana" to know: "You gripped at my very heartstrings with your splendid revelation of motherhood instinct." To Meta, Nana's play reflected the emotions and joys of interaction that she was experiencing with her own baby. "Many times I have looked at him and whispered that motherhood is God--in us." She wrote: "I have thought the 'world cannot be so terrible when there are so many little children' and that it is 'a pity the dear babies have to grow up and be bad' and oh how I too love to 'feel their little heads upon my breast and their arms around my neck' and 'bathe and dress them'." Meta could not say enough to Nana to show how thoroughly she had reached her. Later, Meta recreated this imagery in Adoration, a statuette picturing an after-bath hug.¹⁸

Meta's renewed focus on motherhood made her more sensitive than ever to the problems black American parents faced in bringing up children in a racist society. She believed that if child culture specialists would devote themselves to showing "what foolish inconsistent prejudices" were "held by parents of the present day," America's problems based on race and ethnicity would be solved. Frequently, Meta was "impelled" to write on the subject herself but thought it would be foolish with her lack of training. "Besides my tendency is to have too many irons in the fire," she said, explaining all to Nana Grimké. Meta believed that she had to strive to concentrate her powers. "It is not impossible to preach a sermon in a block of granite or a cauldron of bronze," she told Nana, "it remains with me to interpret it."¹⁹

Meta was ready to devote more energy to sculpting by the time Perry was six months old. "I am sticking to work as well as I can against all



Fig. 28. Adoration

obstacles," she wrote. "The obstacles are not however the dear little children. I would not have anyone think I held them as anything but a joy inspite of all their mischief." Her problems were poor facilities and being unable to find a "competent" person to do the housework so that she could divide her time between her children and her sculpture. Meta was frustrated because these obstacles prevented her from giving her best efforts to both.²⁰

In late May, news that she had won the twenty-five dollar, second prize in the Massachusetts Branch of the Women's Peace Party art contest reinforced Meta's belief that success as a sculptor would come if only she could apply herself. Modeled in gray-green wax and standing approximately twenty inches high, Peace Halting the Ruthlessness of War resulted from her patient development of an idea. A passage from the New Testament, 1 Cor. 15:54-57, finally gave her the "wiser and saner portrayal" for which she had been "satisfied to wait." These verses, which she interpreted as contrasting spiritual power and temporal power, read:

54 When the perishable puts on the imperishable and the mortal puts on immortality, then shall come to pass the saying that is written:

55 "Death is swallowed up in victory." O Death, where is thy victory? O Death where is thy sting?

56 The sting of death is sin, and the power of sin is the law.

57 But thanks be to God, who gives us the victory through our Lord Jesus Christ.

To Meta, peace was "the spiritual power which shall strengthen and sustain that which is temporal." Subconsciously, she had this conceptualization in mind when she chose to convey the sanity of peace and the insanity of waging war. She portrayed War symbolically, as one of the Four



Fig. 29. Peace Halting the Ruthlessness of War

Horsemen of the Apocalypse. In his right hand is a spear upon which is impaled a horrifying trophy--a human head. Beneath his helmet is a scarf --a token of love in medieval times--which twines and flutters about the spear's shaft. A sightless horseman, War laughs wildly as his mount, which is as blind and as crazed as he, tramples and crushes men, women, and children beneath its hooves. Meanwhile, an angel symbolizing Peace alights, faces him with upraised hand, and commands him to stop.²¹

Peace Halting the Ruthlessness of War was reminiscent of the symbolic sculpture for which Meta had been known in Paris. According to the Framingham News, the group's arrested action, which was, in itself, "striking and vivid," reflected "the strong mentality and liveliness of the artist." To Meta, even this small recognition in the local newspaper was evidence that she still had the power to preach a sermon in a cauldron of bronze.²²

Of all the issues the sculptor addressed during the war years, violence against black Americans was surely the most serious. A Crisis subscriber, Meta read the lynching statistics and saw the numbers reporting Negroes who were the victims of mob violence and other forms of terrorism escalating--all while black soldiers were fighting in Europe "to make the world safe for democracy." Many of the incidents reported in the black journal were gruesome indeed. In 1916, during the summer of the Amenia Conference, fifteen thousand white men, women, and children gathered in the Waco, Texas courthouse square and cheered as Jesse Washington, a retarded, seventeen-year-old, convicted of murder, was tortured and burned alive. In June, 1917, twice as many spectators responded to a Memphis newspaper's invitation to witness the immolation of Ell Persons;

and in July, white mobs in East St. Louis killed 125 black men, women and children in a riot motivated by race and competition in the labor market. The dead included a two-year-old who was shot and whose body was found in the doorway of a burning building, where it had been thrown.²³

Shortly after the Memphis incident, a committee of New York black community leaders met at St. Philip's Church "to formulate plans whereby the colored citizens of New York might effectively voice their protest against the unfair, undemocratic and uncivilized treatment to which their fellows are subjected throughout this country, and especially in the South." The strategy session resulted in a parade. On July 28, at noon, ten thousand black New Yorkers assembled on 55th and 56th streets and marched silently down Fifth Avenue to 23rd Street and Madison Avenue, carrying banners. One banner read: "We fought for the liberty of white Americans in 6 wars; our reward is East St. Louis"; another declared: "No land that loves to lynch 'niggers' can lead the hosts of Almighty God."

When she read about it Crisis' September issue, this procession of thousands impressed Meta greatly. The words of the pamphlet "Why Do We March" must have been particularly touching, when she turned the page to see little girls in white dresses, seemingly at the forefront. Whether or not they understood completely the meaning of their presence, they too seemed to proclaim defiantly: "We live in spite of death shadowing us and ours. We prosper in the face of the most unwarranted and illegal oppression."²⁴

Moved emotionally, Meta contemplated a memorial to the Negro Silent Parade. She wanted to tackle the subject of lynching directly, but how

could she? After Peace Halting the Ruthlessness of War, Dr. Fuller had discouraged her from creating grotesque-looking sculpture. He believed that the sight of such nightmarish work would be harmful psychologically to their children. Somewhat in agreement, Meta decided that a new approach was necessary--sculpture that would be meaningful, but more subtle pictorally.²⁵

The Descent may have been an early attempt in this direction. The sculptor took a traditional theme in religious art--Mary and the Disciples removing Jesus' body from the Cross--and used it to depict grief in the aftermath of a lynching. In The Descent, the innocent victim's family is seen lowering him from the tree. His kneeling mother clings to his legs as his wife and father remove him from the limb.²⁶

An incident that took place in August, 1918, provided Meta with the final version of her memorial--the murder of Mary Turner and her unborn child at the hands of a lynch mob. Their murders were the result of a five-day orgy of violence in Brookes and Lowndes counties, Georgia. It began with the fatal shooting of a white landowner and the wounding of his wife by their black peon. The county-wide violence that followed resulted in the lynching of eight innocent blacks, one of whom was Mary Turner's husband, Haynes Turner.²⁷

Years later, Meta could still remember the details of what happened next. After Haynes Turner was lynched, Meta recalled, "Mary was heard to say that if she could find out who did the lynching she could try to bring them to justice". She was sought out, found and brought to a place where she was hung by her feet, head down. . . . Her body was slashed open and an unborn infant fell to the ground. A member of the mob, on



Fig. 30. Three views of The Descent



Fig. 31. Meta Fuller working on Mary Turner

hearing a cry from the child, went to it and crushed its head. Then, they set Mary's clothing on fire and she mercifully died with her clothing ablaze."²⁸

In Mary Turner: A Silent Protest Against Mob Violence, Meta pictured Mary's soul holding that of her infant protectively, rising from the flames. She looks back at her attackers disdainfully, as they grab at her as if pleading to be rescued from the fires of Hell. Meta never carried Mary Turner beyond the sketch stage. She believed that it was "too inflammatory for the North where most of the sympathy exists" and "would never be received in the South where it should be a lesson."²⁹

Nineteen-nineteen was truly the nadir of American race relations. There were seventy-six lynchings--the highest number in eleven years; six cities--Long View, Texas; Washington, D.C.; Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; Chicago, Illinois; Knoxville, Tennessee; and Omaha, Nebraska--experienced major race riots during what was to be known as the "Red Summer"; and John Shilladey, the white National Secretary of the NAACP, was severely beaten on a visit to Austin, Texas. Since many black people considered The Birth of a Nation to be a factor that contributed to the violence, it is understandable that Meta considered having been able to keep the film out of Framingham in April a major victory.³⁰

The racial turmoil of the past several years caused many black Americans to feel themselves embroiled in a domestic war in which their survival as a race was at stake. W.E.B. Du Bois, who recognized the parallel between the racial violence at home and the war's atrocities abroad, asked Meta to produce Peace Halting the Ruthlessness of War with a Negro angel for the Crisis office. For Meta, too, the stresses of the



Fig. 32. Mary Turner: A Silent Protest Against Mob Violence

past few years were deep-felt. In The Silent Appeal, a group which might be considered to be somewhat autobiographical, she depicted a mother of three making a voiceless plea for peace, for justice, or for suffrage. Meta had begun to feel ambivalent about the latter. She had been a staunch suffragette, but when she thought about the role Southern white women had played in Waco and in Memphis, she sensed futility in struggling to obtain voting rights for white women, while a major portion of her race would remain disenfranchised. Still, Meta was never one to surrender to negative feelings; after all, the primary imperative for herself and her race was to survive these difficult times. Perhaps this was why she created The Spirit of Inspiration for Atlanta's black YMCA at the request of its Executive Secretary, William Trent. In this frieze, Inspiration whispers in black youth's ear, while pointing toward a brighter future.³¹



Fig. 33. The Spirit of Inspiration

C H A P T E R X I I

"A ROOM OF ONE'S OWN"

Race relations were not the only source of social turmoil to plague America in 1919. The activities of the radical fringe of the labor movement were increasingly troubling. Millions of Americans began to associate unionism and strikes with the threat of Communism when, in March, the Third International, representing European communist leaders, announced world revolution as its goal. America's wartime fear of alien saboteurs quickly became a peacetime fear of foreign subversives. In August, 1919, Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer, who had been the target of an anarchist murder plot, established the General Intelligence Division with the Department of Justice. Headed by J. Edgar Hoover, its primary function was to collect information on persons or groups of persons suspected of being subversive. Its investigations led to the repressive "Palmer Raids" of 1920 in which approximately six thousand individuals were arrested and questioned, one tenth of whom were eventually deported.¹

The image of the radical as a person of foreign origin reinforced public sentiment that the foreign-born should be assimilated as quickly as possible. Coincidentally, 1920 was the Tercentenary of the Pilgrims' landing. To some involved in the Americanization Movement, the anniversary, when one of the nation's first immigrant groups was being lauded, was an opportune time to create stronger allegiance to American institutions among contemporary immigrant groups by acknowledging the contributions that their predecessors had made to the development of those

institutions. For instance, in October, 1921, the New York State and New York City Departments of Education sponsored the America's Making Festival. Its purpose, according to their flyer, was "to show in popular form, by means of exhibits and pageantry, the most important historical, economic and cultural contributions that Americans of various lines of racial descent, from the original Colonists down to the present, have made to the American nation." Each group would gain "a fuller sense of appreciation of its share in the nation's up-building." This, in turn, would "promote still closer American union and point the way by which we may further enrich our national life." Thirty-two ethnic groups, including Americans of African descent, were invited to participate in the two-week exposition. Each had its own planning committee.²

Several months beforehand, the Negro Committee's chairman, James Weldon Johnson, contacted Meta Fuller to ask what she would charge to supply a piece of sculpture for their exhibit booth. The sculptor had an idea for an "Ethiopia" depicted as a female Egyptian mummy, gracefully unwrapping itself, that she thought would be perfect for the committee but could not say what a finished "Ethiopia" would cost because the price of materials, so irrate during the war, was still unstable. All she could offer at a reasonable price was a twelve-inch model which could be enlarged later. The model would cost one hundred and sixty dollars to which she added a one hundred dollar fee for her labor.

To Meta's surprise, the Negro Committee thought her two hundred and sixty dollars an extraordinarily high price to pay. This annoyed her because, given the circumstances, she believed that she had been

extremely fair. Still, Meta was sincere in her desire to contribute to the America's Making Festival, and it took serious negotiations on her part and that of her husband to appease this group which, after all, had approached her first. The Fullers told the committee that if it truly felt the sculptor's price to be exorbitant, they would provide the work at their own expense with the stipulation that it be returned to them after the festival. Meta would retain complete ownership under this arrangement, depriving the committee of the right to duplicate the sculpture in any way--including photographic reproduction. (The artist even intimated that she might destroy the sculpture after the exposition so that no one could reproduce it.) The committee was willing to agree to this, so Meta proceeded with the work.³

Meta gave the name Ethiopia Awakening to the foot-high statuette that she sent to the America's Making Festival. She had toyed with the idea of doing a piece on the theme of "The Rise of Ethiopia" since her brief collaboration with Freeman Murray. But, during the intervening years, her concept of it had evolved from a tribute to the modern African state to a celebration of the new intellectual vitality she sensed in black America.

What she perceived was real. The reaction of a younger generation of blacks to the white racism and violence of the war years had been one of defiance. "O kinsmen! we must meet the common foe," poet Claude McKay had written in 1919, speaking for a militant "New Negro." "Though far outnumbered let us show us brave,/ And for their thousand blows deal one deathblow!/ What though before us lies an open grave?/ Like men we'll face the murderous, cowardly pack,/ Pressed to the wall, dying,

but fighting back!" Out of this defiant spirit, rooted in intense race-pride and race-consciousness came a surge of activity in literature and in the arts as the black intellegensia, tired of their race being defined as anathema to American society, directed its anger into a constructive examination of every phase of black life, aimed at defining the race on its own terms. The cultural "renaissance" that Meta sensed unfolding reminded her of another brilliant period in black history--that of the Negro kings of Egypt. Thus, she used an Egyptian motif in Ethiopia Awakening to symbolize the American of African descent who, in her words, "was awakening, gradually unwinding the bandages of his past and looking out on life again, expectant, but unafraid."⁴

Black America's cultural revitalization coincided with and, in part, was attributable to a more general trend in what was becoming an era of affluence. Scholars, writers, artists, aesthetes, and bohemians who perceived a certain sterility in life based on middle-class, "Puritan" values discovered the Negro while searching for Parisian exoticism at home. Although American interest in the black community was based upon a distorted understanding of black life, it provided expanding opportunities for black people to display their talents. Fletcher Henderson's Roseland Orchestra was welcomed on Broadway in 1919 and in 1920, actor Charles Gilpin starred in Eugene O'Neill's The Emperor Jones. African art came into vogue. It also became easier to get books by and about blacks published. Nineteen-twenty-one saw the publication of James Weldon Johnson's The Book of American Negro Poetry and Benjamin Brawley's A Social History of the American Negro.⁵



Fig. 34. Ethiopia Awakening

Even with the new prominence of blacks in American cultural life, the black artist was largely ignored by the white-dominated art world. The rage for African artifacts created a demand for American Negro art derived from an African tradition, yet black artists' work was seldom bought or displayed. Consequently, in 1921, there was talk among some black artists of establishing a national association to deal with their concerns.

Meta Fuller had misgivings about the formation of a national Negro art association, which she expressed in a letter written in connection with the America's Making Festival. Although she admitted that such an organization might serve as a source of information for some, she believed that it was "hardly desirable" for Negroes "to group themselves as Negroes for doing a thing which ought to have universal appeal." Still, "if we must have an American art," she conceded, "let it be made by all Americans as the country has been made." Meta's doubts also rested on her observation that "for the present at least, it is not difficult for a Negro of promise to obtain instruction at the most desirable art institutions . . . , nor for meritorious Negro artists to secure admission to the leading exhibitions." Therefore, she felt that to proceed with plans for a separate art association when the patriotic fervor of the times called for a show of unity on the part of all American citizens was ill-advised and potentially counter-productive.⁶

Meta's attitude reflected that of a majority of black Americans who, like their immigrant counterparts were trying desperately to be looked upon as full-fledged, contributing members of their society. James Weldon Johnson expressed this fervent desire to be part of the

mainstream when he wrote to Carl Van Vechten: "We are still on the job of getting over into the American consciousness the idea that in our cultural world the Negro is creator as well as creature--that he is a giver as well as a receiver--that he has aesthetic values as well as values physical, economic and otherwise." To Alain Locke, who like Johnson was a member of Meta's intellectual circle, the Negro was the "augury" of American democracy. "Democracy intself is obstructed and stagnated to the extent that any of its channels are closed," he wrote. "Indeed they cannot be selectively closed." Therefore, Lock maintained, "the choice is not between one way for the Negro and another way for the rest, but between American institutions frustrated on the one hand and American ideals progressively fulfilled and realized on the other." Meta shared Locke's conviction but also believed that it was as wrong for ethnic groups to separate themselves from society as it was for society to close channels of opportunity to them.⁷

The 1920s was an era of consensus in which the "guardians of American democracy" feared differences in political philosophy or historical interpretation. For example, in 1922, the South Boston Veterans of Foreign Wars complained that "anti-American propaganda" was being circulated in the public schools. This propaganda was aimed at "minimizing the deeds and acts of our immortal founding fathers" and at creating the impression that the American history being taught is "erroneous." There were investigations of similar complaints in other large cities in several states. In New York, the school board concluded that "the allegations of tampering with school histories was well-founded." The twenties

superpatriot viewed any attempt at revision as part of a general movement to "emasculate" American history."⁸

A number of national patriotic organizations made confronting this threat part of their official policy. Among these was the Knights of Columbus, a Catholic organization, which established a historical commission, based in Boston, Massachusetts. According to its chairman, Framingham resident Edward F. McSweeney, the Knights of Columbus Historical Commission's goal was to protect the "facts of American history" and to promote national solidarity by preventing "unwarranted assault" through the use of "false history" on any of the nation's racial groups --all of which had demonstrated their thorough Americanism when the need was shown. An important feature of the Knights' program, therefore, was its sponsorship of a series of "authoritative" works on the contributions of the various racial groups that made up the American people.⁹

It was Edward McSweeney's friend, Meta Fuller, who, in May of 1922, initiated the contact between McSweeney and W.E.B. Du Bois that resulted in Du Bois' writing The Gift of Black Folk for the Knights' "Chronicles of America" series. Meta always was ready to speak out about the injustice that resulted from the ignorance caused by the inadequate attention American historians gave the Negro's contributions to civilization. In February, 1923, she addressed this issue in a lecture entitled, "The Negro in Art," which she delivered before a large audience at Framingham's Grace Church. Using the recent discovery of Pharaoh Tutankhamun's burial chamber as her example, she pointed out the great irony that while "the treasure of art and handicraft that is being taken from the tomb of a Negro King" fascinates "all the world," in America, Negroes

were "being rated as the lowest on the scale of social development" and forced to live as a "community within a community" in "the South and even in some parts of the North."¹⁰

2

Personal experience had taught Meta to believe in the ultimate capability of the nation to absorb black Americans like any other ethnic group. She and Solomon had experienced resistance upon first moving to Framingham, but had been able to attain acceptance and become involved fully in the social, cultural, and civic life of their community. For example, Meta was a member of the Framingham Women's Club, the Framingham Planning Committee, the Civic League, and the Civic League Players, the local Community theatre. Of course, she was active at St. Andrew's Church, as a member of the St. Elizabeth's League and the Altar Guild.¹¹

Meta was so busy that Solomon complained frequently that she "spent too much time outside." Even though he thought her civic work was worthwhile, her "first duty was to the family--the children." By the twenties, however, the children were in school and Meta felt freer to pursue her own personal goals and aspirations.¹²

Although Solomon fussed about the amount of time Meta spent on activities other than those of the household, he derived pleasure from the sculpting that she did. He would entertain people who came to see her work, sometimes, to Meta's dismay, too congenially, for if a special guest admired a piece, Solomon, with characteristically African generosity, would give it to him. Meta lost a number of little figurines of which she was fond in this way. Still, she was appreciative of his support, especially when he helped with exhibitions.¹³

One of Meta's most important exhibits of the twenties took place in 1922. It was part of the memorial exhibition that Boston's League of Women for Community Service sponsored for its first president, Maria L. Baldwin, who had died in January. A person whose "dignity, calmness and beautiful voice" impressed all who had met her, according to Alice Longfellow, the poet's daughter, Maria Baldwin was Massachusetts' first black woman school principal. For nearly forty years, beginning in 1889, she had been head of the Agassiz School in Cambridge. Baldwin also had been associated with social and civic activities in the Boston area. The League of Women for Community Service was an outgrowth of the soldiers' comfort unit that she and a group of friends that included black society matron Josephine St. Pierre Ruffin, Maud Cuney-Hare, and Elizabeth Harley Forbes (the wife of former Boston Guardian co-editor George W. Forbes) had organized during World War I. A Framingham member of their social circle, Meta always had supported the comfort unit's programs. For instance, in November, 1918, at Maud Hare's request, she had given an art exhibition to help the unit raise money to buy Christmas trees and gifts for the black soldiers at camps Devens and Humphreys who were unable to return home for the holidays. The exhibit was free of charge, but she had agreed to donate half the proceeds from any sales to the unit. Her long-standing relationship with its members made the invitation to participate in the League of Women for Community Service's tribute to its founder and her friend particularly meaningful.¹⁴

Meta contributed five works to the Maria Baldwin Memorial Exhibition, which opened at the Boston Public Library in October: Mother and Child, A Grandmother, the sentimental portrayal of her Grandmother

Jones; The Pianist (Maud Cuney-Hare); Veiled Future, reminiscent of the main character of Du Bois' pageant, "The Star of Ethiopia"; and her most recent work, Ethiopia Awakening. To the Boston Herald, which reported the exhibition in its Sunday edition, the pieces she had chosen reaffirmed her "flair for symbolic sculpture delicately conceived." James Weldon Johnson used her sculpture to illustrate his inaugural lecture on the genius of the American Negro.¹⁵

Apart from Ethiopia Awakening, Meta's most important artwork of the twenties was in portrait sculpture. She modeled a head of Washingtonian poet Maxwell Nicy Hayson, a frequent visitor to the Fuller home. She also sculpted Henry Franklyn Belknap Gilbert, a white violinist-composer and resident of Cambridge, Massachusetts, who had been inspired to use Negro idioms in his music during his later years. (In 1918, Gilbert's ballet, "Dance in the Place Congo," based on the Creole themes of George Washington Cable, had been performed in Boston and at the Metropolitan Opera in New York City.) Meta created her most important portrait of the period in 1925. W.E.B. Du Bois asked her, on behalf of the national office of the NAACP, if she would supply the organization with a bust or relief of its first president, Boston attorney Moorfield Storey. Meta accepted the commission and in March, the NAACP presented her relief to Storey at its celebration in honor of his eightieth birthday.¹⁶

3

In 1927, Meta inherited money from her grandfather Henry Jones' estate which affected her life as an artist significantly. Jones had seen many of his contemporaries' children squander their inheritances--



Fig. 35. The Negro Poet (Maxwell Nicy Hayson)



Fig. 36. Composer Henry Gilbert



Fig. 37. Moorfield Storey

the hard-earned savings of their parents' lifetimes. So, with the aid of two astute lawyers, he designed his will in a way that more than one generation of descendants would benefit from his legacy. He placed his assets in a trust which was not to be touched until the last of his six children had died. The second eldest, Meta's eighty-year-old mother, Emma Jones Warrick, who died on Friday, June 13, 1923, was the last. The Jones estate was worth approximately three hundred thousand dollars at that time. The sixty-five thousand dollars that Meta received was the largest of the fifty-four shares divided among the survivors. Meta decided to use her inheritance to build a studio--"a memorial to the members of my family, all of whom had contributed in one way or another to my development as an artist."¹⁷

Having a studio away from home always had been Meta's dream. The ceiling in the attic studio was too low for some of her sculptural projects. Also, it was more and more overcrowded with family treasures and sculptural artifacts. Mary White Ovington, who had visited Meta with her sister, Ellen Kingsbury, a Framingham resident, also observed: "her studio spills over with costumes made and in the making" for the Civic League Players. In addition, around 1927, Meta acquired a student, Hildegarde Snow, a recent graduate of Mount Holyoke College. She had to go to her home to teach because of the attic's lack of space. Consequently, she and Hildegarde agreed that a "regular studio" would be more convenient. The sculptor felt that she even could have other pupils. A further and, perhaps, more serious consideration was Dr. Fuller's fear that the attic dust would prove detrimental to her health. So, Meta made up her mind: now that Solomon Jr., and Tommy were in high school

and Perry was in elementary school, the time had come for a separate work place.¹⁸

She did not share her plans, however, with her husband. The studio had been her dream; she knew what she wanted to the smallest detail and did not wish to hear any suggestions. Furthermore, although Meta and Solomon, Jr., occasionally looked to each other for advice and assistance, they strove to be independent of one another in their professional lives. Therefore, Meta saw no need for discussion. During the next year, she bought a wooded lot on Warren Road, on the northeast corner of Larned's Pond, one quarter mile from their home. She made conceptual drawings and found an architect (the father of a young man who was bringing his sculpture to her for criticism) to make blueprints from her designs. By 1929, she was ready to build.

Late one afternoon, on his way home from work, Solomon, Sr., decided to investigate the activity at the end of the street. When he saw the foundation of a house, he asked the workmen who the owner was to be. The answer stunned him. He was outraged. To Solomon, it was unthinkable that his wife would make such a major decision without telling him and later, he told her so. Eventually, Solomon forgave Meta. Her ability to buy land, hire a builder, and acquire the proper permits without assistance ultimately impressed him.¹⁹

Situated approximately two hundred feet off Warren Road, the completed studio was of "English cottage" architecture, with imitation wood beams showing through the upper portion of its brown stucco walls and a roof trimmed with red-painted fascia boards. A path through scrub oaks, maples, birches and sumacs led to the arched doorway with its

wrought-iron latch and overhanging lantern. From the vestibule, one entered a long room with exposed wooden beams and a great, cobblestone fireplace, over which sat white candles in wrought-iron brackets. The staircase at the left end of the room led to a balcony and a small sleeping apartment for guests. There was a tiny room at the foot of the stairway--a chapel where, according to Meta's friend Elizabeth Van Praag Dudley, "an altar and candelabra invited quiet and prayer." The view of Larned's Pond from the casement window and window seats at the back of the studio enhanced one's feeling of tranquility as well.²⁰

Black philosopher and literary critic Alain Locke found the studio charming, when he visited the Fuller's in March, 1930. As a close friend of Solomon, Sr., and Meta, Locke had heard from each the tempest that had arisen over its construction. While, no doubt, he was sympathetic to both, he reassured Meta later in a letter: "[I] sincerely think you have done a most wise thing in building it both as a retreat and as a workshop. I am sure you will find it useful."²¹

C H A P T E R X I I I

RENAISSANCE

As months passed, Meta's Warren Road neighbors became accustomed to seeing her walking down the tree-lined street to her studio. They noticed how the hooped earrings she customarily wore swayed against her creamy cheeks as she hurried along. To one observer, her expression, as usual, was sweet and full of expectation.¹

Yet beneath that placid facade, Meta was worried. Dr. Fuller, who had had diabetes for most of his adult life, was beginning to experience the complications of that disease. Solomon, Sr.'s physical condition and his stress while coping with failing health as well as a career in which he was driven to succeed were of serious concern to her. Meta had long been aware of the frustrations her husband had endured as a black physician. As a young doctor, he had been paid less than his white colleagues for performing the same duties. And, even though he had gained respect as a popular teacher and as an authority in psychiatry, he still experienced racial discrimination in his profession. He had been serving as the head of Boston University's Department of Neurology since 1928, without having received the title which accompanied the responsibilities. To Meta, Solomon, Sr.'s illness only seemed to make his career pressures worse. What could Meta do? It was difficult enough at times to be supportive emotionally to someone who hated sympathy as much as Solomon, Sr., did.²

Although she knew that her husband disliked publicity as much as sympathy, she decided that professional recognition was just what he

needed to lift his spirits. Meta was familiar with the work of the William E. Harmon Foundation which, with the cooperation of the Race Relations Commission of the Federal Council of Churches, presented awards for distinguished achievement among Negroes. (In January, 1929, she had served on the Jury of Selection for the Fine Arts division, one of six categories for recognition.) Consequently, in September, 1930, she confidentially submitted the doctor's name for the Harmon Award in the field of Science.³

Meta's own work proceeded more smoothly. Actually, she was entering one of her most prolific periods. Although Meta was geographically isolated from the black community, she had never been intellectually isolated. She followed the black "renaissance" with great interest and enthusiasm. In the 1930s, her sculpture began to reflect the advances made. A development that she welcomed was the widening appreciation of black musicians and music--particularly the elevation of black folk music to the concert stage by such performers as Roland Hayes and Harry T. Burleigh. Solomon, Jr., recalled the 1920s and 1930s well, as a period when "all the great singers came to our house." Coloratura soprano Lillian Evanti, the first American Negro woman to sing opera anywhere in the world, was an acquaintance of Meta. Solomon, Jr., remembered Harry Burleigh fondly, as a man who encouraged him and his brothers to be proud of being Negroes. Recognized as a pioneer for having written the first known arrangements of spirituals for piano and solo voice, Burleigh had been the first musician to win the NAACP's Spingarn Award. In 1930, he was the recipient of the Harmon Award in Music. Coincidentally, in 1930, Meta created the first black genre sculpture

that she had done in some time--a pair of statuettes based on the black work song, "Water Boy":

Water Boy!
Where are you hiding?
If you don't come,
I'm gonna tell your mammy.

An earlier work on a similar theme, the African Water Carrier which French sculptor Georges-Henri Guittet produced in 1897 appear to have influenced Meta in her choices for rendering the earlier Water Boy. The sculptures are similar in posture and in the position of the water receptacles that they tote. Meta's second version, on the other hand, is more in keeping with the words of the folk song. The erect stance and the defiant look on the face of this Water Boy caused a student of Meta to remark: "He looks as if he would come when he got around to it."⁴

Black genre sculpture like the water boys had become increasingly rare in Meta's work because there was little appreciation for such sculpture in the predominantly white community where she resided and was trying to make a living. Therefore, she concentrated on sculpture of more general interest. Meta depicted dancer-choreographer Martha Graham in her latest creation, "Lamentation" and produced The Princess of the Birds, a pre-Raphaelite figure holding a bird in its cupped hands. Approximately twenty-four inches tall, The Bird Princess was a garden statue, designed to decorate a bird bath. Meta also began "To Our Defenders Who Lie Buried in Foreign Lands," a sketch for a tablet of potentially "heroic" dimensions that she intended to submit to town fathers for the World War I memorial that they were planning. In late



Fig. 38. Guittet's African Water Carrier



Fig. 39. Fuller's Water Boy (Version I)



Fig. 40. Fuller's Water Boy (Version II)



Fig. 41. Martha Graham in "Lamentation"



Fig. 42. Martha Graham



Fig. 43. The Princess of the Birds

autumn, 1930, however, she set aside this and other sculptural projects because the Civic League, of which she was a member, recruited her to design and make costumes for "By the Breadth of a Hair," a Christmas pageant that it was coordinating as a benefit for Framingham Municipal Hospital.⁵

Meta had studied the art of theatrical costume design formally--a fact of which her Civic League colleagues were well aware. Furthermore, although she had contributed her artistic talents to the theatrical endeavors of many community organizations, she was admired most for her expertise in staging religious pageants; in 1927, she had been elected to the faculty of the Wellesley Summer School of Religious Drama and Pageantry, an honor in which Framingham continued to take pride. For several years, she had been in charge of the Service of Lights, the celebration of the Magi's gifts to the Christ child, at St. Andrew's Episcopal Church in Framingham and at St. Mark's Episcopal Church in Southboro, Massachusetts. A frequent attendant of St. Andrew's services felt that they were exceedingly impressive in effectively typifying the Epiphany Season and the spreading of Christ's "light" throughout the world. Dorothy Larned, a member of St. Andrew's who had worked closely with the artist, also recalled fondly the beauty of Meta's increasingly elaborate Twelfth Night services, for Meta was a "lover of color"--especially the symbolism of color. (For example, she customarily dressed Mary in blue, the color symbolizing virginity.) Larned remembered as well what great care Meta took to assure that her characters looked authentic in their garments. While her Wise Men glittered in their robes, her Shepherds were "almost in tatters, just as they would have been."⁶

Unlike the Services of Lights, which were relatively small productions, the Civic League's "By the Breadth of a Hair," which told the story of Christ, from John the Baptist's prophesy to the Holy Family's flight to Egypt, was a city-wide pageant. As many as fifteen community organizations were taking part. For Meta, supplying wardrobe for so many individuals was a challenge, but, with careful planning, was not an overwhelming task. By the time she had completed her assignment on December 2, opening night, she single-handedly had designed and created costumes for nearly one-hundred and fifty participants, including ushers and candy boys.⁷

Although costuming the town's hospital benefit was a satisfying achievement, it placed Meta slightly behind in other "Christmas work." Almost every year, she would create at least one piece of religious art especially for the season. The most elaborate of her Christmas sculptures had been a tryptych-like set of reliefs modeled in 1921. Bearing the inscription "Exultate Dominum," the central relief was a sixteen-inch tondo portrait of the Madonna as the "Queen of Heaven", dressed in pink, wearing a white veil, and seated on a throne with the infant Christ on her lap. The companion pieces were rectangular reliefs, thirteen inches high by sixteen inches wide. The left one, which was inscribed "Adeste Fielis," depicted three kneeling shepherds, each holding an item that was symbolic religiously--a dove, which traditionally represents the Holy Spirit, a new-born lamb, and a shepherd's crook, both of which are used in reference to Christ. The third relief in the trio, with its inscription "Te Adoremus Domine," portrayed the Magi as the world's three races, presenting their gifts of gold, frankincense, and myrrh.⁸



Fig. 44. The Three Shepherds



Fig. 45. Madonna



Fig. 46. The Three Wise Men

Another of the artist's practices at this time of year was to etch small bronze-painted, plaster reliefs which she gave to close friends instead of sending them Christmas cards. For instance, one Christmas, Meta presented Dorothy Larned with a six-and-a-half-inch circular relief, bearing a cross pommée set on an angle. At the cross's center were the Greek letters Alpha and Omega, while at each end were inscribed the words: Christ, Creator, Savior, King. Four five-figure groups, two of which represented angels and saints, filled the spaces between the bars. And, around the edge of the plaque itself, was inscribed: "Hosana to the Living Lord, Hosana to the Incarnate Word." The sculptor would begin to make up the reliefs that she had designed two weeks before Christmas. In fact, years later, her son Solomon, Jr., reminisced that when he and his brothers were young, the pungent odor of varnish that permeated every room of the Fuller home as his mother's plaques lay drying on every heat radiator in the house was always "a sure sign that Christmas was coming." In 1930, however, the welcome sign was slightly delayed.⁹

Besides preparing for and participating in the family observance of Christmas, Meta celebrated her first year in her studio by inviting family and friends to a private exhibition of her most recent artworks and those of her student, Hildegarde Snow. The evening exhibit was like a housewarming. The studio was decorated lavishly with winter greens and in one corner of the long reception room stood a gaily decked Christmas tree which sparkled in soft candle light. Everywhere one looked there was something charming. The large sculpture was displayed in the reception room--including the Bird Princess poised above a little pool at the far end of the room, against a wall of evergreens. The small pieces

were upstairs on the balcony, where soft light cast a rosy glow over them. After guests had completed their rounds, Meta invited them to sit, enjoy the fire in the fireplace, and sip tea which she had prepared in her wedding samovar which had been transferred from home for the occasion. Meta and her guests had such a fine time that she decided to make the Christmas exhibit an annual event.¹⁰

By December's end, holiday activities slowed enough for Meta to answer correspondence that she had received at the beginning of the month from the Harmon Foundation. The first letter concerned additional information that the foundation needed to support her nomination of Dr. Fuller for its award in Science. The remainder related to her work. For the past four years, the foundation had held an exhibition of Negro artists' works in connection with its awards in the Fine Arts. Because it had begun to realize that a yearly exhibit was not giving its artists sufficient time to study and produce, however, it had decided to hold its exhibitions biennially. While planning for its last annual show, the Fine Arts Committee had discovered that it had never shown any of Meta's sculpture. Director Mary Beattie Brady's letter, dated December 8, was the foundation's attempt to correct this oversight. The foundation was "putting forth considerable effort" to make the February, 1931 exhibit one which would be "noteworthy in the art world and also have a professional bearing," Meta had read. It had taken two large galleries at the Art Center on East 56th Street in New York City and had added a "select" group of art lovers and patrons to its usual invitations list of persons interested in Negro art. "We want to have a very representative group of artwork being done by the Race," Brady had written, "[and] more than that

we feel there is considerable opportunity in this Exhibition for Negro artists to bring their work to the attention of a very wide and helpful group of people." Brady had expressed the foundation's desire that Meta be included in what it hoped would be an historically significant as well as a professionally advantageous art show.

Meta answered on December 31. But she was more concerned with her husband's nomination than her own, for in its first letter, the Harmon Foundation had requested photographs of Dr. Fuller and a copy of one of the publications that she had mentioned in outlining his work. This was difficult to produce because she had submitted his name without his knowledge. It was extremely important to Meta that nothing go wrong with her husband's nomination; so, she agreed to try to get the material without his finding out. "I hope that I have not seemed negligent in this matter," she wrote, "but the truth is I have so many calls here and there to take my attention that the more important things always seem to suffer." As for the Harmon Foundation's request concerning her own work, Meta thought that she could "find something to send if it were not too late." The foundation responded on January 8, by assuring Meta that Dr. Fuller had been entered as a candidate in Science. It also sent her a nomination blank and six entry cards for her own use and sponsored her itself because the deadline for nominations was too close to receive it in any other way.¹¹

During the weeks that followed, Meta worked on gathering the materials needed in support of her own nomination--newspaper clippings and photographs of herself and her work. These she sent to the Harmon Foundation in New York (with the picture of Dr. Fuller that it had

requested). She also selected five sculptures for the February 16-23 exhibition: the portrait of Solomon, Sr., another head, entitled Dark Hero, the Memorial to Mary Turner, and the two versions of Water Boy, her most recent works.

It was near the end of January before Meta was able to get all of her sculpture to New York, for on January 21, she was still waiting for the water boys to come from the foundry in Boston. Shortly thereafter, she was disappointed to hear from the Harmon Foundation that her sculpture had arrived too late for the Awards Jury to see them. Consequently, she could not be considered for the current award in the Fine Arts. Nevertheless, the committee on hanging and exhibiting had decided to show a selection of her statuary: one Water Boy, Dark Hero, and The Doctor, a choice that undoubtedly pleased her.¹²

Meta did not attend the Harmon Foundation Exhibition in February. She already had resumed work that she had set aside in December. She completed a small, dancing Bacchante and the sketch "To Our Defenders Who Lie Buried in Foreign Lands," the latter of which she submitted for Framingham's war memorial. Her application for the commission, however, was unsuccessful; the town chose to erect a statue rather than a tablet such as hers.

In 1932, Meta did receive a commission from Dr. Fuller's alma mater, Livingstone College, a small, black school in Salisbury, North Carolina. The request came from William J. Trent, who, in 1919, had asked the artist to create sculpture for Atlanta's black YMCA, of which he was then director. Now President of Livingstone, Trent wanted her to design a plaque and commemorative medal for the college's fiftieth



Fig. 47. Dark Hero



Fig. 48. Bacchante

anniversary celebration in 1932. Meta created a twenty-two by eighteen inch relief bearing a portrait of Dr. John Charles Price, who founded Livingstone in 1882. She also arranged to have one hundred commemorative medals minted. Based on the plaque, Meta's medal bore Dr. Price's image on its obverse side, with his name and "Founder of Livingstone College" around the obverse border. On its reverse side was Livingstone's name and the date of its establishment. Although 1932 was Livingstone's fiftieth anniversary year, Meta did not conclude her business with the college until 1933. That was when Livingstone, which like many small institutions found itself in "financial straights" during the Depression, was able to pay Meta's four-hundred and seventy-five dollar fee.¹³

Fully aware of how difficult Depression times were for artists, Meta took every opportunity to do her part for their cause. In 1932, she began a three-year term as chairman of the Framingham Women's Club art committee. Besides leading pilgrimages to museums and conducting round-table discussions on art, she encouraged the purchase of artworks whenever possible.¹⁴

To Meta, the matter of patronage was not just a general issue, it was personal. In 1933, Dr. Fuller retired when a white assistant professor was made a full professor--a title that Dr. Fuller had yet to receive--and was appointed Head of the Department of Neurology. Dr. Fuller, who considered life "a battle in which we win or lose," had regarded the whole affair philosophically. As far as he was concerned, "to be vanquished, if not ingloriously," was "not so bad after all." He felt that he "might have gone farther and reached a higher plane had it not been for [his] color," but he had done his best. Meta agreed, but believed

that with this part of her husband's income gone and with Solomon, Jr. and Tommy about to enter college, it was necessary for her to place more emphasis on money-making, because she wanted to do her part to contribute financially to her sons' education.¹⁵

During those trying days of the Depression, Meta and her one remaining student, Hildegarde Snow, were able to carry on, in Meta's words, "more or less sporadically." A talented sculptor who Meta considered "most conscientious and faithful," Hildegarde would come in four days a week, except when cold weather forced Meta to close the studio. The two women worked closely, sometimes as teacher and pupil, sometimes as sculptor and assistant, and often as fellow artists creating side by side. Sculpture exhibits were often joint exhibits. For example, by 1933, the Christmas exhibit that had begun three years ago as an openhouse, had become a community event. Every year since then, Meta and Hildegarde had opened 135 Warren Road, now familiar to Framingham residents as "The Studio", for a ten-day, early December exhibition and sale of artworks appropriate for the Christmas season. During those four years, the profits as well as the attendance had risen.¹⁶

In addition to displaying artwork in her studio, Meta sent sculpture to the Wellesley Society of Artists' exhibit at Wellesley College and to the Framingham Civic League's Spring and Fall garden shows. She exhibited at the Boston Art Club, which opened its membership to women in 1933, and showed a recently created relief of the "Intrepid Agitator", Boston Guardian publisher William Monroe Trotter in that year's Harmon Foundation Exhibition.¹⁷

Perhaps the most interesting of the sculptor's Negro theme pieces of 1933 was her interpretation of "Lazybones," a popular song by Johnny Mercer and Hoky Carmichael. Always inspired by music, Meta rendered both verses of the song in two, little figurines.

Lazybones, sleeping in the sun,
How you spec't to get your day's work done?
Never get your day's work done,
Sleeping in the noon-day sun.

Lazybones, sleeping in the shade,
How you spec't to get your corn meal made?
Never get your corn meal made,
Sleeping in the noon-day shade.¹⁸

The artist's most significant work of 1934 consisted of four sculptures: a pair of bookends entitled Silence and Repose, The Angel Israfael, based on a poem by Edgar Allen Poe, one of her favorite authors, and a depiction of black orator Richard Berry Harrison in his role as "De Lawd" in Marc Connelly's 1929, Pulitzer Prize-winning play, The Green Pastures. Created in the tradition of "ideal" sculpture, Silence and Repose were represented by the faces of two women--Silence is a straightforward pose, eyes down cast as though reading, and Repose depicted in a reclining position, eyes wide with enlightenment. Both heads are shrouded in cowl-like drapery, a common sculptural device used to symbolize contemplation. For instance, sculptor Augustus Saint Gaudens employed the same vestment in his bust, The Cumaean Sybil, as did French artist Lucien Levy-Dhurmer in his painting, Silence (1895). Authors Frances and Winifred Kirkland were stricken with the beauty of Meta's bookends, when they saw them at the Fuller home, sitting on a shelf were they held together "the tall romance-packed volumes of Percy's Reliques



Fig. 50. Lazybones (Version II)



Fig. 49. Lazybones (Version I)



Fig. 52. Repose



Fig. 51. Silence

. . . as if they somehow enclosed and offset with their peace all those intense young-girl fancies of a sculptor woman now grown older, quieter." While, in their opinion, bookends were often "cheap and grotesque," Silence and Repose were graceful--characteristic of the "deep serenity of spirit" that they found in so much of Meta's recent work. To the Kirklands, who were rather romantic themselves, these women's faces were "as soothing, as full of quiet and release, as some far-off evening light shining beyond brown trees." It occurred to them that perhaps in calling her bookends Silence and Repose, Meta had "meant to show that this is just the way all great and good books should make us feel."¹⁹

Meta's bust, The Angel Israfael, was another contemplative piece--this time, derived from Edgar Allen Poe's 1831 poem of the same title. Poe had discovered his subject, "the angel Israfael who has the sweetest voice of all God's creatures," in George Sale's "Preliminary Discourse" to his translation of the Koran. Subsequently, the first stanza of his poem read:

In Heaven a spirit doth dwell
Whose heart-strings are a lute--
None sing so wild--so well
As the angel Israfael--
And the giddy stars are mute.

In turn, Meta seems to have based her depiction of Israfael on Poe's fourth stanza:

But the Heavens that angel trod
Where deep thoughts are a duty--
Where Love is a grown god--
Where Houri glances are--
-- Stay! turn thine eyes afar!--
Imbued with the beauty
Which we worship in your star.

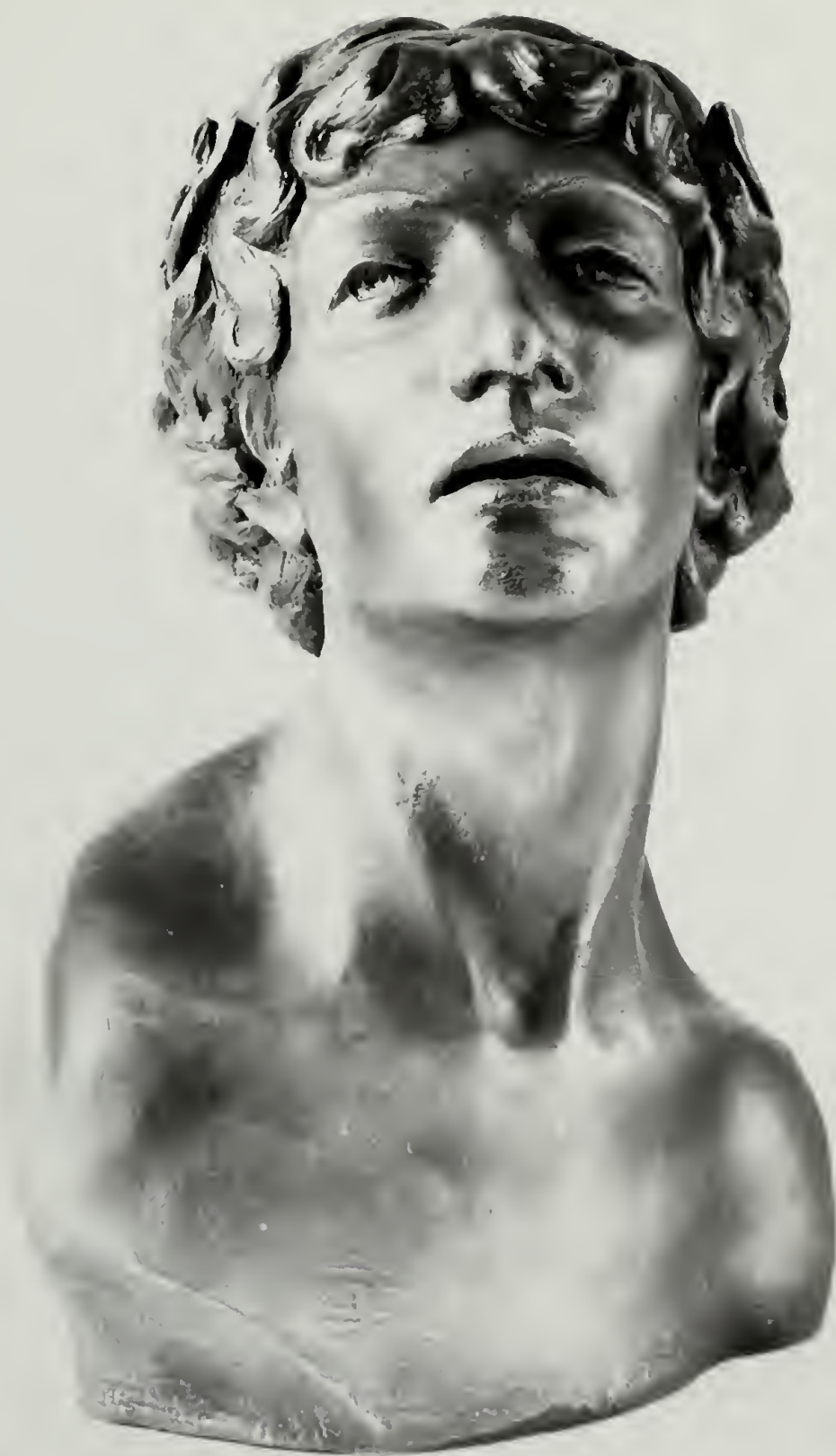


Fig. 53. The Angel Israfil

It was not this exposition of heavenly perfection, however, that attracted Meta, for Poe's Angel Israfil was actually a comment on Christoph Martin Wieman's premise, stated in his Private History of Peregrinius Proteus, that: "He that is born to be a man neither should nor can be anything nobler, greater or better than man." Poe concurred in stanzas seven and eight of his own work:

Yes, Heaven is thine: but this
Is a world of sweets and sour:
Our flowers are merely--flowers,
And the shadow of thy bliss
Is the sunshine of ours.

If I did dwell where Israfil
Hath dwelt, and he where I,
He would not sing one half as well--
One half as passionately,
And a stormier note than this would swell
From my lyre within the sky.

The advisability of being content with one's own nature was a recurrent theme in nineteenth-century symbolist literature; Stephen Crane, another favorite of Meta, had written:

In the Desert
I saw a creature naked, bestial
Who squatted upon the ground
Held his heart in his hands
And ate of it.

I said, "Is it good, friend?"
"It is bitter--bitter," he answered;
"But I like it
Because it is bitter
And because it is my heart."

Meta was as intrigued with this theme in 1934, when she executed The Angel Israfil, based on Poe's poem, as she had been in 1901, when she created The Secret Sorrow, based upon Crane's.²⁰

Begun in 1934, Meta's statuette entitled Richard B. Harrison as "De Lawd" in Green Pastures was of a different tenor than The Angel Israfel or Silence and Repose. Green Pastures, from which the artwork was derived, was one of the most successful plays of the 1930s (equaled only by Abie's Irish Rose). Based upon Roark Bradford's Southern sketches, Ol' Adam and His Chillun, Green Pastures, as described by its author, Marc Connelly, was "an attempt to present certain aspect of living religion in terms of its believers." The religion was that of "thousands of Negroes in the deep South." Indeed, at the close of the 1920s, when America had gone through a crisis in religion, Connelly had explained orthodox Protestant theology in the guise of a series of parables in which the inhabitants of a small, Southern, Negro, rural town become heavenly beings. "De Lawd", for example, was the black preacher transformed. And, Heaven became a convivial neighborhood where angels held fish-frys. For black and white theater-goers alike, the play was a beautiful and moving experience. White audiences were comfortable watching Green Pastures, couched as it was in the minstrel tradition. But for black theatre-goers, the excellent performance of the large, all-black cast made the play memorable. White critic Haywood Hale Broun confirmed their opinion. To him, the acting "seem[ed] so spontaneous and natural that one [was] tempted to believe the players [were] not really acting." James Weldon Johnson declared that Green Pastures had established conclusively the Negro's "capacity to get the utmost subtleties across the footlights, to convey the most delicate nuances of emotion, to create the atmosphere in which the seemingly unreal becomes for the audience, the most real thing in life."²¹

"De Lawd," made memorable by Richard B. Harrison, was, in fact, the sixty-five-year-old orator's first professional stage role. A dramatic reader of Shakespeare on the Lyceum circuit for over thirty years, performing in black churches and schools and before black literary circles and clubs, Harrison had only taken the role in 1920, when Rev. Herbert Shipman, suffragan bishop of New York, convinced him that to do so was not sacrilegious. By the time he died on March 14, 1935, however, Harrison had become identified with the part, having played it for 1,658 performances.²²

Meta captured the folksy nature of Harrison's portrayal of "De Lawd" in her sculpture. The actor is seated on a bench, leaning toward the viewer. His expression is gentle and knowing. By the end of March, 1935, Richard B. Harrison was ready for casting. And, when Meta exhibited the statuette in May, the Boston Sunday Post recommended it to "those who enjoyed Green Pastures" as "a simple but powerful characterization."²³

Generally, Meta had several works in progress. In the early part of 1935, they included the Richard B. Harrison and a relief portrait of Framingham manufacturer Henry S. Dennison, which his family had commissioned. She also began a sculpture that was to become one of her favorites--a group commemorating the migration of hundreds of Southern Negroes to the North following the world war. Inspired by the Old Testament story of the Jews' migration from Egypt, she called her sketch "Exodus." Thus far, as she wrote Assistant Director Evelyn Brown of the Harmon Foundation, she had visualized it as a "group of seven or eight figures."²⁴



Fig. 54. Actor Richard B. Harrison



Fig. 55. Richard B. Harrison as
"De Lawd" in Green Pastures

Another undertaking that Meta had wanted to do for years was to place in some significant location a portrait of Absalom Jones, the first Negro Episcopal priest in America. She had thought about this from time to time, but within recent months, it had occurred to her that the Cathedral of St. John the Divine in New York City was right for Jones' portrait. She wrote to Ralph Adams Cram, the cathedral's architect, asking him to consider a small figure or relief of Jones for the church. A long time passed with no reply from Cram, which caused some anxiety on her part. Meta was disappointed too, for Cram's lack of response appeared to be a passive refusal of her offer.²⁵

At times like this, Meta thought about fellow American sculptor Malvina Hoffman who also had been a student of Rodin. Unlike herself, Hoffman was phenomenally successful--able to attract important and lucrative commissions. For instance, while Meta had lost the commission for Framingham's war memorial, in 1919, philanthropist Robert Bacon had commissioned Malvina to create a memorial dedicated to Harvard students who had been killed in the war. The resulting sculpture, The Sacrifice, a "heroic-sized crusader, lying at the knees of a woman," carved from a ten-ton block of Caen stone, had been placed temporarily in the Cathedral of St. John the Divine, later to be moved to its final resting place--Harvard's war memorial chapel. Moreover, in 1930, the Field Museum in Chicago had recruited Hoffman to model racial types for its Hall of Man, as part of her world travels. This commission had begun an odyssey in 1931 which lasted for the next five years. But, in 1933, Malvina had created enough sculpture to open the Hall of Man. When Meta compared her career to that of Hoffman, she always felt a tinge of sadness at the

thought that as a student of Rodin, she too might have received equally important commissions had she not been a Negro. Circumstance had forced her to settle for relatively minor commissions like the portrait of Henry Dennison.²⁶

In 1935, Meta received a commission from Colby College in Maine that was more satisfying. With the death of Professor Emeritus Julian Daniel Taylor, the institution had lost one of its most beloved professors. Taylor had been a professor of Latin for more than sixty years (1868-1930); several presidents of the college had been his students. Following his death in 1935, the senior class voted to honor him by presenting his likeness to the school as their parting gift. At first, they wanted a deathmask, but were persuaded that a standard portrait would be preferable. Solomon Fuller, Jr., and William Thomas Fuller, who were Colby students at this time, recommended their mother to execute it. And, when she received the offer, Dr. Fuller was anxious, for sentimental reason, for his wife to accept it. When he had gone with his sons to see the college, a friend, Ruth Bragg Weston, who was an alumna and a former student of Taylor, introduced him to Taylor. A Latin scholar, Solomon, Sr., had always referred to this meeting as "one of the epics of his life." Because of her husband's regard for Julian Taylor and because the commission had come through the recommendation of her sons, Meta was pleased to accept the Colby commission.²⁷

The portrait that she created for the Class of 1935 was a relief whose dimensions were approximately twenty-four inches high by eighteen inches wide. Taylor is seated in profile, dressed in the academic robes which symbolize his distinguished career as a scholar. It is evident



Fig. 56. Fragment of Julian Daniel Taylor portrait reproduced as a tondo relief

that Meta had captured that quintessential part of Taylor's character that Colby prized, for in the lines of his ancient face, one could see the warmth and kindness that generations of its students had known.

Julian Daniel Taylor was not the only sculpture that Meta created at the behest of one of the children. In 1936, she modeled a portrait of Amelia Earhart for her youngest son, Perry. Unlike his brothers, Perry had elected not to attend college. Age twenty, he was enjoying an extended Wanderjahr. Perry was fascinated with airplanes and with aviation, a passion that he shared with a close friend. In order to gain admittance to private air fields, they would offer to wax the pilots' planes. They met and talked flying with many well-known aviators--among them was Amelia Earhart. Perry felt privileged to have had the opportunity to speak with Earhart, who was admired all over the world. And, because he felt privileged, he wanted to give her a gift. Meta carved a tondo relief portrait which Perry presented to her.²⁸

The Amelia Earhart was an important part of Meta's December, 1937 studio exhibit. When Earhart and her co-pilot, Fred Noonan, vanished in the Pacific on June 2, the portrait became all the more important to Meta, who, like her son, greatly admired the aviator. Earhart had been an honored member of Zonta International, a service club composed of business and professional women, of which Meta, by invitation of Framingham's chapter, was the first black member. In 1937, Meta had become President of the Framingham Zonta Club, but her presidency had not been easy. Years later, Meta would recall that when the nominating committee had asked her to accept the office in June she, in turn, had asked them to be aware that her effectiveness as their president might be curtailed



Fig. 57. Amelia Earhart

because, in some instances, she would not be given the same respect that other Zontas received because of her color. For example, she said, "If we had to go South, I couldn't stay in the hotel with you; I would be discriminated against right and left." In spite of foreseen difficulties, the Framingham Zontas had wanted her. She had decided to take the presidency and "stick it out" because being the president of a service club might "be the means of inspiring some of our Negro women." Still, Meta's prediction of discrimination came true. She was snubbed at Zonta's national convention in Niagra Falls that summer and once headquarters in Chicago realized that she was a Negro, it began to give her less than the consideration due a local chapter president. In a sense, then, the 1937 studio exhibit, in which Meta featured the relief of honored Zonta Amelia Earhart, was an attempt on Meta's part to foster closer relations between herself and other Zontas in the region. As artist and President of the Framingham Zonta's, she extended invitations to fellow club members in and around Boston as well as in Framingham to visit the exhibit and set aside a special day for them to do so.²⁹

The 1937 exhibition was a particularly fine showing by Meta and Hildegarde Snow. Although their styles were different--Meta's strong and serious and Hildegarde's delicate and somewhat more lighthearted--the sculpture that the two women selected to display was complementary. This was especially true of their religious works. Meta had created two madonnas during the past year. The most striking was Madonna of the Cross, a kneeling figure, leaning toward the Christ Child whose outspread arms suggested the Cross. While this madonna was characterized by long sweeping lines, the madonna that Hildegarde exhibited resembled a

Medieval artar piece. On the other hand, Meta's Crucifix, done after the Old Spanish style, was also elaborate. Equally compatible were Hildegarde's Trial of the Bow (probably an American Indian theme) and Meta's The Talking Skull (still in clay), derived from an African folktale.³⁰

"The Talking Skull" was a story that Meta had loved to tell her children. "In the heat of Africa," she would begin, "a young tribesman wandered out upon the desert waste. Stumbling upon what at first seemed to be a large stone, he later discovered it to be a human skull and speaking aloud, he exclaimed, 'I wonder how you came here.' To his amazement," she would continue, "the skull answered, 'Tongue brought me here and if you are not careful, Tongue will bring you here.'" To her wide-eyed listeners, Meta would describe how the young tribesman ran back to his village, and eager to astonish everyone including the chief, told of his adventure. The villagers went with the boy to see this "talking skull", but hating lyers, warned him that if it did not talk, he would lose his head. No matter how the boy pleaded, not one word would the skull utter. Angered at the thought of having been deceived, the chief beheaded the boy with a single stroke of his blade. Finally, when everyone was gone, the skull cried out in a loud voice: "Tongue brought me her and I told you that if you were not careful, Tongue would bring you her."³¹

In her Talking Skull, Meta showed the ill-fated boy (who bears a slight resemblance to Solomon Fuller, Jr.), beseeching the skull to speak. Although she chose an African fable as the theme, she may have based the depiction on Garçon et tête de mort, a late-nineteenth century painting by Magnus Enchell, a young Belgian artist. Whatever her source

of inspiration, The Talking Skull was one of the finest pieces of sculpture that Meta created during the Black Renaissance.³²

Fig. 58. Enckell's Garçon et tête de mort

Fig. 59. The Talking Skull





Fig. 60. Meta Vaux Warrick Fuller (Age 61)

C H A P T E R X I V

MAELSTROM

On January 1, 1938, Meta decided to keep a journal for her most private thoughts--something that she had not done for more than thirty years. "I have decided to keep a diary," she wrote in her first entry, "regardless if it will be worthwhile or not, for there are those who think that only great people should keep a record of their lives and for one to assume that he or she is great enough to merit such a record is nothing short of conceit and vanity. If this fact governs everyone," she noted, "there would be no records of those who are truly great, for such people do not realize their greatness. So on the strength of this, I write and make no apology for doing so."¹

Now sixty, Meta had earned national respect, along with painter Henry Tanner, as a surviving forerunner of the renaissance in American Negro art. But such recognition did not grant immunity from the economic hardship that her younger and less experienced colleagues suffered. Now that her sons were all grown and pursuing careers of their own, the studio was more than a place for concentration and creativity, it had become a place of business. Meta was conducting art classes there, with the assistance of Hildegarde Snow and Emile Belleveau, local artists whom she had encouraged over the years. In addition to teaching, Meta became more active in seeking commissions. In 1937, the U.S. Treasury Department announced its intention to change the "Buffalo" nickel to a coin depicting a relief of President Thomas Jefferson. Meta was working on her sketch in April, 1938, when she learned that the

government had selected a design by Felix Schag. Meta received an inquiry from Cheyney State Teachers' College in Pennsylvania about a relief portrait of its President, Leslie Pinkney Hill, on the occasion of his twenty-fifth year of service, but ultimately the black college chose another gift for Hill.²

Despite her best efforts, Meta was not making much money; Dr. Fuller even suggested that she sell the studio, which he considered a financial liability. Although she often felt discouraged, Meta was determined not to give up. At 1:40 A.M. on New Year's morning, 1940, she expressed her determination "to review efforts and not 'go under.'" "I will do all I can to overcome the depressed spirit which I've suffered for the past year," she resolved. "I will try to be more outspoken when I should be and try to be more tolerant and reserved when words will not suffice. I still have a task to complete," she asserted. "I must not drop it just because someone wants to stop by the wayside." But for Meta, 1940 was to be a difficult year both personally and professionally.³

In 1940, she competed for the Treasury Department commission to model a relief plaque of President Franklin Delano Roosevelt for the Hall of Records in Washington, D.C. A great admirer of Roosevelt, she believed that he had done much to support the arts through the Works Projects Administration. Meta did not win the commission. The government selected the design of another black sculptor, Selma Burke, an instructor at the Harlem Art Center.⁴

In June, 1940, Meta received an invitation to exhibit at the American Negro Exposition in Chicago. Subsequently, she sent three

works, Water Boy, Richard B. Harrison, and The Talking Skull, to the Tanner Gallery at the exposition. The next month, curator Alonzo Aden informed Meta that the jury had accepted Richard B. Harrison, but rejected Water Boy. In her reply of July 25, Meta expressed concern that there had been no mention of The Talking Skull. By the end of August, Meta's concern had become alarm. After a search of their records, gallery officials claimed that they had never received the statue and asked for her railway express receipts. She had proof from the express company that all of her works had been received in Chicago. She even knew who had signed for them "at 10:00 A.M. on June 22." Convinced that a one-hundred and eighty pound sculpture such as The Talking Skull was too large to overlook, Meta sent them a photograph to aid a further search. By mid-September, the American Negro Exposition art committee had found The Talking Skull and returned it to Framingham. Meta noticed upon receipt that the piece had never been unpacked. Now she was angry. She fired off a letter to Claude Barnett. "I question by whose authority it was set aside and not permitted to be seen," she wrote. "Having been solicited by your committee, this figure was crated and shipped in good faith to your exposition and at considerable inconvenience and expense to me. And, I deem it unfair if not insulting that it should never have been exhibited or even passed on by the jury. The matter seems beyond explanation and I therefore protest against the express charge of nearly eleven dollars and ask that the exposition authorities meet this expense." Meta then informed the committee that the statues Richard B. Harrison and Water Boy had been received in "passable condition due to indifferent packing. Both pieces were somewhat

jammed. . . ." She would "overlook this," she said, "since the damage, though avoidable, is negligible." Meta concluded by telling Barnett that she hoped the art committee would see this matter from her point of view and do all it could to adjust it favorably to her. On September 15, Meta received a letter of apology from Frederick Aden, Assistant Curator of the Tanner Gallery. Aden explained that The Talking Skull had not been passed on by the jury because it had been placed mistakenly with sculpture that had been requested not to be passed upon by the jury. He added that while The Talking Skull had not been exhibited, Richard B. Harrison drew much comment from the public and the critics at the American Negro Exposition.⁵

Meta found no consolation in Aden's words. For Meta, the American Negro Exposition had been an additional frustration at a time when she was experiencing a mounting crisis due to her husband's worsening diabetes. Now sixty-eight years old, Solomon, Sr., found its complications physically uncomfortable and difficult to bear. In addition, cataracts were destroying his eyesight. Because of his decreasing vision, he was finding it difficult to practice medicine and to enjoy his favorite pastimes--reading, gardening and fishing. Physical incapacity made Solomon, Sr., moody and temperamental. And Meta, who was trying to keep his spirits up and help him cope with his problems, did her best to be tolerant of his darker moods. But the situation was emotionally draining for both of them.

For Meta, the death of her brother William during the Thanksgiving holiday was harder still. She felt guilty because although her Philadelphia relatives had sent for her long before Thanksgiving, she had

given in to Solomon, Sr's arguments that she had been ill, that the trip would not be good for [her], that it would be better for them both if [she] remained at home." Most of all, Meta regretted having let herself be "denied the comfort of being with [her] brother at the end."⁶

The passing months did very little to remedy the discord between Meta and her husband. Apart from the notation of her brother's death there was only one entry for the year 1941 in Meta's journal--a quotation from The Life and Teachings of the Masters of the Far East. "The greatest cure for inharmony," she recorded, "is the knowledge that inharmony is not from God and that God never created it."⁷

Solomon, Sr's depression over his deteriorating health cast a pall over Meta. Because he was depressed, his deep-seated envy of the recognition she received as a sculptor was unmasked. He became increasingly insistent that she give up her life as a sculptor and spoke disparagingly of art and artists. Meta suppressed her anger in those moments; but eventually, she expressed it in three stylized heads which she called Vanity, Scorn, and Disdain. A detailed journal account of the time she spent on December 3, 1942, pouring over some old letters from happier days, reveals the depth of the melancholia she too felt. "Yesterday I spent several hours reading and destroying some old letters that I had lain away at the studio. It had occurred to me that my time here will not be much longer and that rather [than] leave them for strangers' hands to dispose of--hands and eyes they were never meant for--I would take care of this myself. They were nearly all love letters," Meta explained, "One packet was from a girl who had had a so-called 'crush' on me. At the time they were written, I had no knowledge of their



Fig. 61. Vanity, Scorn, and Disdain

psychological aspect. However, no harm came of this experience or any similar ones which came later. My chief reason, after analyzing my emotions, for saving these letters, was prompted by a certain satisfaction to be had by reading over such outpourings from those who had loved me--or believed they did." She continued: "It is all very flattering to be the object of such outpourings. I see that I have always enjoyed being idolized; I still do for that matter. I think that every woman--perhaps men too--desire to be loved by someone--someone who believes one necessary to their happiness. This may be entirely apart from any carnal impulses. While for the most part these letters were written during an adolescent period, we believed our desires to be those of mature men and women. How mistaken we were! For while there were occasionally some reference to passion and desire, we had no idea of the true meaning of such." "All of these people--all gone now," Meta lamented, "and while going over these letters makes me sad, there are really no regrets. Like water over the dam, they have all gone their way having each their impression on my life."⁸

Thus far, Meta had been looking after the irascible doctor without much emotional support from her family because none of their sons were residing in Framingham. Solomon, Jr., was teaching in Bordentown, Pennsylvania; William Thomas, who was married with three children, was serving his country in wartime as a member of the Army Air Corps, stationed in Tuskegee, Alabama; and Perry, an aeronautics design consultant for the Lockheed and Douglas aircraft companies, was in California.⁹

Meta's life with her ailing husband did not improve. By 1944 his eyesight was so poor that his privileges in Boston area hospitals where

he practiced were withdrawn because administrators there did not believe that he saw well enough to examine patients. Solomon, Sr., took this professional setback "like a soldier," as his wife recalled later, but was unwilling to give up his psychiatric practice altogether. He began to treat patients who wanted to consult him whether he could see or not, at home, with the assistance of his protégé Dr. Charles Penderhughes. Penderhughes would come to Framingham and give the physical examinations; Dr. Fuller would do the rest. Now that he was working at home, Solomon, Sr., was more demanding of Meta. Never much for housework she was obliged to keep the house, which doubled as his office now, orderly in accordance with her fastidious husband's specifications--this in addition to preparing his meals and generally monitoring his physical well-being. Because the doctor needed her at home, Meta cut back on her outside activities, including her work at the studio. For the most part, she was forced to trust its daily operation to Hildegard Snow and Emile Belleveau. She tried sculpting at home but long periods of concentration were almost impossible. The first one up in the morning and the last one in bed at night, Meta was wearing herself out, trying to see to her husband's needs and keep up with her own work.¹⁰

For Meta, staying at home with Solomon, Sr., was depressing. It was sad to watch her husband, who had been an expert backyard gardener for years, kneel frustrated in his garden because he could not see the weeds which overran the seedlings and plants that he was trying to tend. A lover of books, he could no longer read. And, Meta realized, his greatest loss was his inability to enjoy fishing. Ten more years would pass before he could bring himself to relinquish his copy of The Com-

plete Angler. Unlike herself, Solomon, Sr., was not particularly gregarious. Like many physicians whose work required them to interact with many individuals under circumstances that were often stressful, he preferred solitary forms of relaxation. These cherished avocations were not easy for Solomon, Sr., to replace; he was lost--oft-times bored--without them, and it was difficult for Meta to see him so unhappy.¹¹

Between September and December, 1944, Solomon, Sr. underwent two operations to remove the cataracts that were partially responsible for his impaired vision. Diabetes slowed his recovery from this major surgery, and in January, 1945, he was still an invalid.¹²

For Meta, the five months since the first operation had been taxing both physically and mentally. Customarily, Meta sought emotional support from close women friends in times of stress. One of these, Esther Popel Shaw, a black teacher of French at Francis Intermediate School in Washington, D.C. and a prolific writer, became concerned because she had not heard from Meta for a while. "I surmised when your letters didn't come that you were overwhelmed with work and worry. You have what it takes tho to come up from under, so I'm counting on you to come through this difficulty with flying colors," Shaw wrote. She strongly advised Meta to give herself more time to rest. "The wear and tear of all this is great for you. And in spite of everything you aren't an iron woman. If you were to crack up now what would become of the two of you?" "Tell Dr. he must be more considerate of you," she advised.¹³

Meta and Esther were like sisters and over the years, Esther had learned how much sculpture and the studio meant to Meta. Therefore, she

was surprised to discover that Meta was neglecting them to such a great degree. "Don't you get to the studio at all now?" she asked in a letter dated January 22. "Can't you slip away for even a few minutes a day? Why can't some of doctor's friends come in and sit with him for an hour or so, and therefore let you get away for a bit? You need relaxation you know. It doesn't seem quite fair that all the sacrifice comes from you."¹⁴

Meta knew well the truth of what her friend was saying. Thus, she was relieved when her son, Perry, came home for a visit near the end of January and decided to remain there in order to help his father and her. A commercial artist now working in New York City, Perry thought that he could do his drawings in Framingham and send them to New York. Meta hoped that her son's presence would offer her needed respite from the overwhelming responsibility of her husband's care and allow her to resume her own art work to some degree. But Perry's stay lasted only three weeks. Although his intentions were good, Meta and the doctor found him uncooperative. On Saturday, February 13, after a quarrel with his father, Perry packed his belongings and left for New York, declaring that he was going to sell his car and move to California again. Meta was hurt, and she was disappointed, not only for her husband and herself, but for Perry, whom she knew was not in good health himself. "I feel that he should be near home and that sending him off is to fail him in time of need," Meta wrote in her journal the next day; but there was nothing further that she could do. She felt "that something had gone out of her life."¹⁵

Perry's departure also distressed Meta because by that time,

Solomon, Sr. had been informed that he would need a third cataract operation to restore his sight. Now that Perry was gone, she, again, was torn between what society expected of every woman--to sublimate her own needs in order to fulfill her family obligations--and her fervent desire to return to her studio. Meta resolved to "give up everything to look after Doctor."¹⁶

By mid-March, however, Meta was having second thoughts. It occurred to her that she might be able to get away for a few hours a week if she hired someone to look after Dr. Fuller. She mentioned her idea to Dorothy Hinton, who, with her husband Dr. William Hinton,* was a close family friend. But Dorothy was not as understanding as Meta expected; she told Meta that as the best possible caretaker for Solomon, Sr., she ought to stay at home. On the other hand, when Meta repeated her plan and her discussion with Dorothy Hinton to Esther Shaw, Esther was more sympathetic. "Mrs. H[inton] was right when she said no one would do for him like you do," Esther replied in her letter of March 13. "Certainly no one would put up with his various attitudes as you do. And between you and me, I don't think he'd act to anyone quite as he does toward you. So, for your own soul's sake, as well as his [since tyranny is as hard on the tyrant as on the victim], I'd get back to the studio quick and do my work for a change."¹⁷

*Head of the Wasserman Laboratory of the Massachusetts Department of Health and an instructor of Bacteriology at the Harvard University Medical School, where he was the first black faculty member, Dr. William Augustus Hinton gained international recognition when he discovered a flocculation test for syphilis. Hinton also co-originated the Davies-Hinton tests for blood and spinal fluids.

On March 23, Solomon, Sr. entered the hospital for his third eye operation. The week that he was gone gave Meta the quiet opportunity to think about their life together during the past few years and the concessions she had made. She decided that things were going to be different: if she were going to devote time to him, he would have to be less argumentative, more cooperative. When Solomon, Sr., returned home, he found a more assertive Meta.

"Bravo!--several times on your acquisition of a bit of 'sassiness' where your 'domestic relations' are involved," Esther Shaw cheered.

"Maybe yet you'll get that much needed streak of iron in your soul! You're still too gentle," she continued, "but you're 'coming.' Keep it up. A few jolts well applied might yet tame the 'pater familias' and bring him down to size. He needs it! So do you! So more power to you!"¹⁸

Once Meta resolved to stand up to the doctor, she was less apt to be melancholy. As a result the correspondence between Esther Shaw and herself grew brighter in tone. They exchanged long, chatty letters about family life, books they had read, and movies they had seen. They talked about mutual friends such as Sue Bailey Thurman, the wife of The Rev. Howard Thurman, artist Lois Mailou Jones, singer Lillian Evanti, and associates such as educator Mary McLeod Bethune. Esther, who had worked with Bethune at the National Council of Negro Women's headquarters in Washington and had found her to be unbearably imperious, referred to her as "La Bethune." Because Meta disliked pretentiousness as much as she did, Esther sent Meta something to make her smile--"The Reception," a poem about academia that she had written in a poetry work-

shop she was taking that summer:

[1]

The honoree stands proudly
 Straight and tall,
 Correctly ill-at-ease
 With "company smiles"
 Enmasking the true self
 That lies beneath
 The "company-manner self"
 That lies--and lies!

[4]

Along the walls
 The straight-backed chairs
 Are ranged,
 And each one bears
 A guest correctly dressed--
 In spin-the-bottle-attitudes
 Composed, but comfortless!
 Tight-girdled each one holds
 Her chins in place, correctly!
 Smiles are hung
 On lips like flags

 Politely bored and vaguely
 Half surprised
 The smiling faces
 With unsmiling eyes!¹⁹

By the summer of 1945, Meta's thoughts had turned to her own realm of artistic expression--her studio. For almost three years, Hildegarde Snow and Emile Belleveau had had the studio to themselves because she seldom had been able to spend much time there. Because Snow and Belleveau continued to create, exhibit and teach there, it was they who, for the most part, bore the studio's operational expenses and paid Meta for its use. Now ready to take charge of her life again, Meta began to make plans to formalize what had been a loose agreement between the two artists and herself. The new arrangement that she was proposing was a

partnership in which she, the senior partner, would conduct evening classes. Negotiations among Meta, Hildegarde and Emile continued through the beginning of 1946 because Hildegarde and Emile, who wanted equal partnership, wanted Meta to accept thirty percent, while Meta continued to maintain her position.²⁰

Meta was able to keep Solomon, Sr. from knowing about the studio project until March, when visiting friends, the Parmiters, mentioned it inadvertently during the course of their conversation. Solomon, Sr. was furious. After the Parmiters left, a bitter argument erupted between the Fullers. Solomon, Sr. raged about her secrecy. Angered over what he deemed audaciously ill-considerate behavior on her part, he predicted that the whole venture would be a dismal failure.

Meta found little sympathy for herself or her cause within her immediate family. In their opinion, looking after "Dad" was, after all, her responsibility. Therefore, Meta poured out her frustration to her "sister" Esther Shaw, upon whom she had always seemed able to depend for support.

Esther responded on March 22, "It's just as well that the Parmiters did let the cat out of the bag," because "sooner or later Doctor would have to know" about the studio venture. She assured her that in spite of what Solomon, Sr. had said, the project would not put her "in the poorhouse" as long as she kept its legal side under control. "And even if it should," Esther asked, "isn't financial 'poverty' more to be desired than the spiritual poverty which seems already to be the lot of Dr. F?"²¹

Meta's situation reminded Esther of an old Sunday school parable

in which eating the fruit of a certain tree made one unutterably, preposterously, absolutely selfish. And, she feared "that Dr. has been eating of its fruit, (gorging on it, to be exact!!!)" Although she did not want to be overly critical of the rest of the family, Esther undoubtedly believed that they had been partaking of the fruit as well, for she told Meta: "It's incredible . . . that they can all be so selfish and so blind to your need of their sympathy and understanding!" She wondered: "What can they be thinking of to let you go on wearing out your strength and spirit without giving thought to what they are taking from you!" Esther believed that because the past year had been so trying for Meta, she deserved completely "any break she could get from it--by fair means or foul." Thus she advised Meta not to let things get her down. "Just eat a little of the fruit yourself and go ahead with your plans if you are sure within your own heart that you are headed in the right direction."²²

Meta's attempt to re-establish herself at the studio was one of the most painful experiences of her career. Not only did it cause tension within her family, but it resulted in the end of her association with Hildegarde Snow--one of the longest and closest between student and teacher. Because she was the studio's owner as well as the person, in her opinion, upon whose reputation its success always had been based, Meta refused to accept anything less than senior partnership. Hildegarde had grown independent of her mentor over the past few years and, at age forty-two, she could not envision returning to the position of subordinate. Therefore, she decided to withdraw from the nascent venture and strike out on her own. Once Hildegarde Snow was gone, however,

Meta and Emile Belleveau were able to arrive at an agreement which satisfied them both. Consequently, Meta recommenced her career as a sculptor as she had planned--by visiting the studio and critiquing the sculpture of the evening class students like the master she knew herself to be.²³

In November, 1949, Meta received a letter, from Miss Hattie P. Flack, the Dean of Women at Livingstone College in North Carolina. Flack wrote that the college's Booster Club, a student organization, wanted to honor President William Trent's twenty-fifth anniversary at Livingstone by commissioning a relief portrait of him. Furthermore, the students were anxious to receive it by Founder's Day, February 10. Meta replied that she would be happy to carry out the project and that she believed she could promise delivery by February 5. For its part, she told Dean Flack, Livingstone would have to supply good photographs of Trent: one showing him in a characteristic pose and another that gave a profile view, or, at most, a three-quarter view of his face. She also required a diagram of the wall where the relief was to be hung so that she could determine the correct proportions of the relief to the space that it was to occupy. Meta suggested that one of the college's art instructors could help to obtain this information, along with an exact description of the manner of lighting--natural or artificial--and the direction of the main light source. Once Meta had these in hand, she began the Trent project.²⁴

During the week of February 11, 1950, Meta received a letter from Dean Flack with a check for one-hundred-and-eighty dollars enclosed. The portrait relief of President Trent had arrived on February 10, "in

due time for the presentation service." Flack told Meta that the gift had surprised and moved Trent, and that the Board of Bishops and the trustees who were there were all extremely "pleased and grateful to you for the very special service."²⁵

In May, 1950, Meta went to Salisbury, North Carolina, in order to attend Livingstone College's official celebration of William Trent's anniversary. One of the guests to whom Trent had issued a personal invitation, Meta remained there during the week of May 6 and conducted art discussions and demonstrations.

Meta accompanied her lectures with slide presentations of her work. In them, she discussed the techniques she had used to create each piece and the ideas from which it evolved. "Art must be the quintessence of meaning," she told her college audience in one of her lectures. "Creative art means that you create for yourself. Inspiration can come from most anything: from a good idea, from a song, a dream, an observation, or from nature." She shared the fact that some of her ideas had come from her dreams. "And these dreams," she added, "were prompted by the ghost stories my brother told me just before I went to bed." She urged the students not to be afraid to experiment with their ideas in art. "Notice the beautiful emotions good music stirs within us. Don't suppress these emotions. Speak them out! Tell the world how you feel, but don't copy. We don't have to copy: we are an artistic people." And, when students asked about the chances of making a living in art, Meta challenged them to take the chance: "You don't ever know what your chances are even in a profession like law, medicine, engineering, or teaching. Try, try!" she urged. "Try seventy-times-seventy!"

One can only imagine what Meta thought as she looked out upon the students' young and hopeful faces, for Meta had found it difficult to sustain the new beginning that she had made four years earlier. Dr. Fuller's health had continued to decline. By the end of 1950, he was in such poor condition that Meta turned over the studio to Emile Belleveau and became a housewife again.

Sculpture had been an essential part of Meta's life and she missed it. Sometimes she would walk through the house squeezing a lump of clay so that she would not lose the feel of it. It was a depressed Meta Fuller who recorded in her journal on June 7, 1951: "Nearing the threshold of another birthday, I find myself wondering what the next years have in store for me and how many more there are to be. Not too many I hope. I have given up everything to look after Doctor. His sight is hardly enough to enable him to go about the house. He is doing his best," she continued, "but sometimes he can be very hateful. I had hoped once to leave behind work that would have a meaning to the coming generation, but that is all over now. My best efforts are worthless and spell failure to the present-day workers. My answer is: So what. I am tired--tired of everything."²⁷

She was in no better spirits a year later. On June 9, 1952 she recorded: "Another birthday--the seventy-fifth. Confusion is everywhere; I can hardly understand my emotions. Once so determined and purposeful, now I simply accept what comes to me. Whether for better or worse I do not know."

During the following months, Meta busied herself with the routines associated with caring for her home and her husband. One day in the

latter part of November, 1952, Solomon, Sr., became ill, complaining of gas in his stomach. He sent Meta to the drugstore for medication. Instead of taking the prescribed does, he accidentally took an overdose and became extremely ill. Because he began vomiting and could not stop, Meta called his doctor, who had him admitted to the hospital. Despite intensive care and intravenous feeding, Solomon, Sr., never recovered. he died on January 16, 1953. He was eighty-one years old.²⁹

C H A P T E R X V

"THE OLDEST SCULPTOR OF MY RACE"

Anxiety over her husband's final illness and death left Meta depressed and exhausted physically. In March, Solomon, Jr. noticed that his seventy-five year old mother still was suffering from fatigue and suggested that she might obtain some relief if she took a short vacation. Meta agreed; so, they decided to drive down to Philadelphia and visit their relatives.

On the day of their departure, Meta went first to her son Tom's home. She took a bus to the Muster Field, the second of Framingham where he and his family lived. Meta was caught in an unexpected rain shower on her walk from the bus stop so that she reached her son and daughter-in-law's residence with her clothing soaked. Opening her door and seeing Meta rainsoaked alarmed her daughter-in-law, Harriet, because she knew that in her fragile state of health, Meta was susceptible to any illness. Meta gave Harriet her wet clothes to dry; meanwhile they sat and discussed her itinerary and what was to be done at 31 Warren Road while she was gone. Once her clothing had dried, Meta rejoined Solomon, Jr., at home. Later that afternoon, they left Framingham for New York, where they spent the night with Dr. Fuller's cousins, the Jarrets, before traveling on to Philadelphia the next day.

While in Philadelphia, Meta and Solomon, Jr., stayed with Meta's nieces, Marie and Dorothy Warrick. Although Meta enjoyed spending time with them, her visit was uncomfortable. In later years she would recall: "I was cold all the time--desperately cold" because their "house

was not as warm as I had been accustomed to keeping [mine]."¹

As a result, Meta returned to Framingham with a terrible cough. It grew no better in several days; therefore, her doctor had her admitted to the hospital. During the course of Meta's treatment there, x-rays revealed a spot on her lung which the doctor diagnosed as tuberculosis. She told Meta that she would have to go to a sanatorium in order to recover; but Meta did not want to go because she "felt that the expense would be terrific." Meta's doctor told her not to worry and subsequently, negotiated to have her admitted to Middlesex County Hospital in Woburn, Massachusetts, which was approximately twenty miles from Framingham.²

Before Meta departed for Woburn and the Middlesex County Sanatorium, she left the family homestead in the care of her son Solomon, and gave her studio to her son, Tom. She gave the studio away because she felt that her "days of work were over" and because she believed that now that Tom and Harriet's children, Solomon II, William Thomas, and Meta, were teenagers, they all would need a house. Once the Thomas Fullers moved in, however, they found that the studio was too small for a family of five and decided to rent it.³

Meta spent more than a year in the sanatorium. Even though her room was very pleasant and the hospital's staff tried to make her quite comfortable, Meta's first few months there were an ordeal. She hated to think "of the things that were being done" to her in the name of science. Technicians would x-ray her every so often, give her other tests and "medication, medication, medication." The test that Meta found the most uncomfortable and annoying was one in which doctors would put a

light down her throat and turn it on in order to see what it reflected. In addition to all of this, Meta developed a painful case of shingles. Meta was able to remain stoic through it all, confident that "Science and the hand of God" would bring about her recovery.⁴

When Meta began to feel better, she was allowed to have visits from her family and friends. Two of the latter were Rev. Howard Thurman and his wife, Sue Baily Thurman. (The Thurmans had moved to Boston in 1953, after Rev. Thurman had accepted the position of Dean of The Marshall Chapel at Boston University.) Meta always looked forward to their visits and the interesting books that Sue Thurman often would bring for her to read.

It was not long before Meta began to feel restless. She felt the need to be creative again. This urge led her to write some of her first poetry while in the sanitorium. For example, on October 29, 1954, she completed a poem entitled, "The Mystic Ring." Written in a meter similar to Edgar Allen Poe's "Annabelle Lee," "The Mystic Ring" was a tale of unrequited love, madness, and vengeance.⁵

Unlike the gothic "The Mystic Ring," the majority of Meta's verse reflected serenity and beauty. In "Resurrection" she wrote:

Little fairy with shimmering gown
Where are you going to-night?
Why do you float as night comes on
And travel without a light.

I'm a milkweed fairy and hurry along
To hide in the soft brown turf;
I need no lamp to light my way
For I'll burrow into the earth.
And there I shall sleep the winter through
And mind the frost and snow
Till the warm spring sun awakens me
And then I'll live anew.⁶

It was this gentleness of spirit that endeared Meta to the doctors and nurses who cared for her at the sanatorium. Not only did she endure her illness and its treatment without complaint, she did what she could to cheer other patients--even took the time to listen to staff members' troubles. Those who interacted with Meta from day to day were amazed at her creativity; she was never idle. They admired her so much that when she left Middlesex County Sanatorium in the spring of 1954, they gave her an orchid.⁷

Meta's return to Framingham was short-lived. By the end of the summer, she had suffered a relapse of the tuberculosis, and, therefore, had been forced to return to Woburn. Washington friend Esther Shaw, to whom Meta had sent brief notification of her setback, wrote her a comforting letter. "I think I detect just a wee bit of blueness in your card, or did I? I know you are disappointed over having to return to the 'san' my dear, but after all, that isn't your fault. And you are a good soldier remember. You are the one they gave the orchid on the day you left because you had done so much to cheer the other patients. So I'm sure the same courage and cheer you displayed last year will help bolster up your spirits again and help you deserve another orchid. So chin up and make your new adjustment like the good scout you are." Esther was convinced that going back to 31 Warren Road had not been conducive to Meta's convalescence because Solomon and his second wife, Grace, who were taking care of the house in her absence, had six children between them. "There where you are," she assured Meta, "you can get all the attention, etc., that was not available at home. So make the most of this change, dear K.S., and know that whatever happens is

for the best."⁸

Actually, Meta took her return to the sanitorium quite well. Once again, she experienced the rest and tranquility which, in the estimation of Shaw, would contribute to her eventual recovery. This serenity is reflected in "The Day," a poem that Meta wrote in January, 1955:

I like the early sunrise
With crystal golden light
Pale on the far horizon
Dividing day from night

I like the ruddy sunset
With rich and splendid hue
But saddened by departing hours
Each day to live anew.

I like the quiet eventide
With loved-ones gathered 'round
And joyous dulcet echoes
About the engleside.

I like the midnight hour
With no distracting sounds
To break away the blessed peace
While holy sleep abounds.

But best of all the morning
With crystal, golden light
Giving promise of new⁹ life and hope
And all things right.

Poetry was not to be Meta's only means of artistic expression during her second hospital stay. In September, 1954, Sue Thurman brought Meta some modeling clay. Although Meta was certain that she would never sculpt again, Sue felt that Meta still had much to give as an artist. She encouraged her to begin again by suggesting that she do a portrait of the Rev. Thurman.¹⁰

Meta did model a small bust of Howard Thurman. She also created The Voice of the Cello, a figure of a man who listens with pleasure to

the instrument he plays, and a polychromatic relief which she called The Good Shepherd. Inscribed "The Good Shepherd Knoweth His Sheep," this bas-relief depicted Christ holding a lamb. Some people who saw The Good Shepherd did not like it because they considered Christ's body, which Meta had given extra length, to be out of proportion. Meta had done so because, like many of the nineteenth-century French impressionists, she was a great admirer of seventeenth-century Spanish painter El Greco.¹¹

In addition to these sculptures, Meta created The Slave Ship, which was based on her reading of W.E.B. Du Bois' The Suppression of the African Slave Trade. The Slave Ship consisted of a group of nude figures pressed together, symbolizing the horrors of the "middle passage." Meta wrote Du Bois about her sculpture in October, 1954. She enclosed photographs of the work in her letter. "In-as-much-as your 'Suppression of the Slave Trade' which you wrote long ago . . . was the inspiration for the subject," she said, "it seems fitting that you should possess the four views which I had made some time ago." Although the wax sketch was only six inches high approximately, Meta told Du Bois that originally, she "had intended to enlarge it to at least three feet and possibly even more--much more for the purpose of exhibition." Meta wanted Du Bois to know about The Slave Ship because she felt that he would "be able to understand it as no one else could and imagine it in grander proportions and proper finish." Excited about her little piece, Meta told him: ". . . if and when I am discharged from Middlesex 'san' 'The Slave Ship' will be one of the first subjects I shall attempt to finish."¹²

Undoubtedly, Meta believed that although Tom had rented the



Fig. 62. The Slave Ship

studio, it could become available to her again. But, unbeknownst to Meta, her family had sold the studio. For them the decision to do so was painful, but necessary in order to meet her medical expenses. When they finally told her, Meta was devastated; it never had occurred to her that the studio would ever leave her family's possession. She had been certain that her sons had known what it had meant to her: she had designed it; she had worked there for more than twenty-five years; and she had hoped that at her death it would stand as a memorial to her parents and others in her family who had fostered her artistic talent. Although Meta tried to understand, she never was convinced that some other alternative could not have been found.¹³

In 1955, seventy-eight-year-old Meta returned to Framingham, having spent a total of two years at the Middlesex County Sanitorium. She shared her home with the family of her son Solomon, who remained there because he did not believe that she should live alone. Although 31 Warren Road was a bit crowded, Solomon and his wife, Grace, did their best to maintain a pleasant environment for Meta and she did her best to adjust.¹⁴

A frequent visitor of Meta in the months immediately following her return to Framingham, Sue Thurman noticed how frail Meta looked, she feared that Meta was not getting enough rest at home. Because she believed that Meta would have a better chance to relax if she went away for a while, she arranged with Wilhemina Crossen, a mutual friend who was the principal of the Palmer Memorial Institute, a private, black boarding school in Sedalia, North Carolina, to have Meta visit there. A native of Boston, Crossen was glad to have Meta come down. She might

even sculpt a portrait of the school's founder, Charlotte Hawkins Brown. Subsequently, Crossen asked the Boston Aristo Club, an organization of black women dedicated to the study of black history, to subsidize the portrait and Meta's trip. The club agreed to do so.¹⁵

Meta was pleased to accept the opportunity to go to North Carolina in order to see her old friend and execute the portrait of Brown because she "had a high regard" for Brown and her achievements in education. She recalled that Alice Freeman Palmer, who had been Wellesley College's second president, had thought Brown special too when she had met her for the first time. Brown and Palmer's meeting, as Meta recalled, had been quite casual. Palmer "saw this girl pushing a baby carriage and studying Latin or Greek and she thought 'here's an unusual person.'" When Palmer introduced herself, she learned that Charlotte Hawkins, a senior at Cambridge English High and Latin School, had taken a job caring for a neighbor's child in order to buy a slip to wear under her organdy graduation dress. She also learned that Hawkins would be entering the Massachusetts State Normal School in Salem after graduation. A member of the Massachusetts State Board of Education, Palmer became Charlotte Hawkins' closest mentor and benefactor. And, in 1902, Charlotte Hawkins Brown named her private high school after Alice Freeman Palmer. Meta admitted that she regarded Brown "above Mary Bethune in a way." She felt that as a gentlewoman, "Charlotte Hawkins Brown had more to commend her."¹⁶

Meta went to the Palmer Institute in January, 1956 and remained for three months, enjoying the milder climate, visiting with her friend Wilhemina Crossen, and modeling a bust of Brown. Meta found the work

itself invigorating, but the time she spent with Brown was rather depressing because at age seventy-two, Brown, once so intellectually vital, had become somewhat senile. Seeing her contemporary in this mental state made Meta sad.¹⁷

On the other hand, Meta found the institute's students delightful. The feeling was mutual, according to Wilhemina Crossen, who remembered how eagerly the students had anticipated the "famous artist's" visit and how much they "loved" her when they finally met her. When Meta finished the Charlotte Hawkins Brown, she was assigned several boys to assist with the plaster-casting. Meta was grateful for the help and enjoyed explaining the process to them as they worked. On the day that the plaster caste was to be removed from its mold, Meta arrived in the studio only to find one of the boys extremely upset. Excited and anxious to do his part, the student had taken chisel in hand and had begun to remove the shell without her; in the process he had chipped the nose and neck of the bust badly. Meta calmed the distressed young man and assured him that the bust could be re-cast without any trouble. By the time she told Crossen about what the know-it-all student had done to Dr. Brown, Meta thought the whole incident was amusing.¹⁸

All in all, Meta enjoyed her visit to the Palmer Institute and she considered her work there her most satisfying experience of late. In March, after the final caste of Charlotte Hawkins Brown was completed, however, Meta went back to Massachusetts. She would have liked to have remained in North Carolina a bit longer, as Wilhemina Crossen had invited her to do, but she felt that she was neglecting her responsibilities at home.¹⁹

As the year progressed, Meta became quite active again. She resumed participation in many of the women's organizations with which she had been associated--the Zonta's, and the Business and Professional Women's Club, for example--as an honorary member which meant that she could attend meetings as a non-voting member and not have to pay dues. She began to answer invitations to exhibit her sculpture or to lecture. Furthermore, she cleared an area of her bedroom so that she could continue to sculpt.²⁰

By December, 1956, other black North Carolinians had heard that she was working again. Meta received a letter from North Carolina Agricultural and Technical College in Greensboro, asking if she would be interested in creating a memorial bust of the college's former president, F.D. Bluford, similar to the one she had done of Charlotte Hawkins Brown. Meta answered in the affirmative, saying that a bronze bust similar to that of Dr. Brown would cost five-hundred dollars. She added in subsequent correspondence that for four hundred dollars less, she could produce Dr. Bluford's bust in "bronze over plaster" which would "give the effect of casting." By March, however, A. & T.'s portrait committee appeared to be vacillating because it wrote that they were "attempting to send out specifications with the hope of getting the project underway." "If this means you are consulting other sculptors for estimates," Meta replied, "I immediately withdraw my interest in the project. Another sculptor might underquote me in the matter, but no one would enter it with greater interest or more conscientiously than I or with more experience."²¹

Although Meta was unable to consummate an agreement with North

Carolina A. & T., she kept busy with many other projects. For example, she produced a bust entitled The Modern Girl. Meta also designed a silver coin bearing the likenesses of Howard and Sue Thurman, which she presented to them on June 12, 1957, their twenty-fifth wedding anniversary; meanwhile, she continued to work on larger and more detailed reliefs of them.²²

Sue Thurman continued to encourage Meta to do significant work. In 1958, for instance, she prompted her to accept a commission from the Afro-American Women's Council of Washington, D.C., to create dolls representing ten outstanding Negro women in American history. They worked together: Meta modeling heads and hands, Sue making costumes. The result of their collaboration was ten, sixteen-inch figures that depicted Phillis Wheatly, Harriet Tubman, Sojourner Truth, Margaret Murray Washington (Mrs. Booker T. Washington), Mary McLeod Bethune, YWCA leader Juliette Derricotte, Mary Church Terrell, Charlotte Hawkins Brown, Marian Anderson, and Shirley Chisholm.²³

An octogenarian now, Meta was frequently honored as one of America's outstanding women herself. In March, 1961, Howard University in Washington, D.C. opened its new Fine Arts Building with an exhibition entitled "New Vistas in American Art." The exhibition contained nearly one-hundred paintings in addition to sculpture and prints which were on loan from galleries and private collectors. Among these were eight sculptures that Meta had sent: The Angel Israfael, The Man Eating His Heart (The Secret Sorrow), Mother and Infant, The Negro Poet, The Pianist, Portrait of Margaret (Margaret Cardozo Holmes), Richard B. Harrison as "De Lawd" in Green Pastures, and Song of the Swan. On



Fig. 63. Rev. Howard and Sue (Bailey) Thurman Reliefs

Friday evening, March 31, Meta was present for the Fine Arts Building's formal dedication. As one of three artists recognized for "achievement in sculpture" (the others were Selma Burke and John W. Rhoden), she received a five-hundred dollar purchase prize and a silver medal for The Angel Israfel. She, in turn, donated Richard B. Harrison to the university in honor of the occasion.²⁴

Howard University was not the only institution to receive sculpture by Meta in 1961. When Sue Thurman's mother died that year, Meta created The Madonna of Consolation for her. Perhaps the most beautiful of the sculptor's madonnas, The Madonna of Consolation, a free-standing figure in a black niche, measured fourteen and one half inches tall. She is dressed in a blue cloak with gold trim and with a red lining. The cassock that she wears over her blue gown is pale yellow as is her veil which blends gently with her golden crown and halo. The madonna holds the Christ child upright and facing forward. Although the total effect of The Madonna of Consolation is quite lovely, her most striking feature is the quiet expression of grief on her face. Meta's gift touched Sue Thurman; she admired it so much that she convinced Boston University's School of Theology to purchase a reproduction.²⁵

The Madonna of Consolation was one of an increasing number of religious pieces that Meta sculpted in the 1960s. For example, she produced The Madonna of the Empty Arms, in which the Virgin, dressed in red and white, stands erect with her arms held straight at her sides. (She created a "Black Madonna" as well.) Also among Meta's religious works were Rosa Mystica, a young girl kneeling before a thornless rose bush (a symbol for the Virgin Mary), St. Francis, and The Two Marys. The Two



Fig. 64. Madonna of Consolation

Marys were a set of bookends which represent Mary Magdalene and Mary, the mother of the Disciple James, who have gone to Jesus' sepulcher, only to find it empty. Meta's depiction is based on Luke 24: 4-5, in which the Marys beheld two men in shining garments standing beside them and, because they were afraid, "bowed down their faces to the earth" as they are asked: "Why seek ye the living among the dead?"

At age eighty-two, Meta was as busy as she had ever been. When the Business and Professional Women's Club discovered that the City of Framingham owned none of her sculpture, its members decided to commission a piece which they offered to have installed in a public building. Immediately, Meta thought of Framingham Union Hospital, where her husband had practiced for many years. She created an eighteen-inch circular bas-relief which showed two nurses, directed by a physician, feeding a patient intravenously. Around its perimeter, she placed symbols representing the "round-the-clock" work of the hospital--surgery, emergency care, opthamology, chemistry, x-ray, anesthesiology, laboratory technology, obstetrics, and pediatrics. Meta and BPWM President Joyce Douillette presented the finished plaque to Framingham Union Hospital on January 27, 1962, at a special ceremony to which family and friends were invited. Among those present on this occasion were Rev. Mason Wilson, the rector of St. Andrew's Church, Sue Thurman, Meta Louise Coates, Tom and Harriet Fuller's daughter, and Meta Coates' daughter Cheryl, who unveiled the relief. Because of the Framingham Union Hospital relief, Meta was the recipient of two additional commissions: one from Livingstone College, and the other from the Framingham Women's Club.²⁶

Sue Thurman had thought how nice it would be if Livingstone had

another of Meta's works when she saw the plaque. Therefore, she contacted the college and, subsequently invited Meta to meet with Samuel Duncan, who was its current president. Duncan told Meta about the (Bishop) W.J. Wall Heritage House, the new center for African, Afro-American and International Studies that the college was erecting and suggested that Meta design a relief for this building. Because the W.J. Wall Heritage House was to be dedicated primarily to the preservation of the history of black peoples, Meta immediately thought of the portraits of Frederick Douglass, Harriet Tubman, and Sojourner Truth that she had created some time ago. She told Duncan that she would like to incorporate these in a circular relief, and drew him a sketch. Duncan liked Meta's concept and told her to proceed.²⁷

When Framingham Women's Club President Evelyn Gagliardi saw the Business and Professional Women's Club present one of Meta's works to the city, she regretted that the women's club had not done so first. Subsequently, the women's club commissioned Meta to create a piece of sculpture for the John Merriam Library downtown.²⁸

Meta's first priority, however, was the Livingstone College relief, which she completed in the Spring of 1962. Entitled The Crusaders for Freedom and approximately thirty-six inches in diameter, the relief was composed of the likeness of Truth, Douglass, and Tubman surrounding the torch of Liberty. In May, Meta traveled to Salisbury, North Carolina, in order to be present for Livingstone's Commencement Week, the week of May 27. During that time, she presented The Crusaders for Freedom to the college in memory of Dr. Fuller, who had received his Bachelor's Degree there. And, on Tuesday, May 29, Livingstone awarded Meta



Fig. 65. Frederick Douglass



Fig. 66. Sojourner Truth



Fig. 67. Harriet Tubman



Fig. 68. Meta Fuller and Crusaders for Freedom

the Honorary Degree of Doctor of Letters at its Eightieth Commencement Ceremony.²⁹

When Meta returned to Framingham from Salisbury, she began the library sculpture--a relief of John Merriam. Sometime later, she happened to mention what she was doing to a fellow Framingham Women's Club member. "Who wants to look at a man?" she remarked. "Why not make something of more appeal to children." Meta was taken aback by her friend's response. But, she set aside the portrait of John Merriam and began to work on another idea. The process of creating something new was interrupted briefly, when Rev. Mason Wilson, the rector of Meta's church, came to her in the summer of 1963 and asked if she would make a figure of Christ for a cross that Charles Newbold, another artist at St. Andrew's, had made for him.³⁰

Rev. Wilson had become the rector of St. Andrew's Church while Meta was in the sanitorium; therefore although he was acquainted with the rest of the Fullers, he had known Meta a relatively short time. He first met her when she came to the church to give a sculpture demonstration to the church's youth group. He recalled later that on this occasion, "she was simply introduced as Bob Fuller's grandmother." As time passed, however, Mason Wilson discovered that Meta was an extraordinary person--"as near to being . . . a 'Renaissance' person that I know." Even though she had not been to college, she could quote poetry and other literature, and talk about philosophers. Wilson also learned of her deep devotion to the church. "I can see Mrs. Fuller arriving at church--sometimes forty-five minutes early," he reminisced, "and she'd be sitting there in her pew reading her prayer book." Meta's prayer

book was large and, to Rev. Wilson, it "was just as much a part of her as her handbag." In Rev. Wilson's view, Meta was not only a deeply religious person, she "had a very strong mystical side."³¹

Rev. Wilson remembered vividly several encounters with Meta concerning the figure of Christ that she created for him which revealed Meta's deep "understanding of Calvary." He recalled finding Meta in the Framingham Center Library one day, looking at a huge book--the Bible illustrated by James Tissot, one of her favorite nineteenth-century French painters. She had been in the library for several hours, "immersing herself in the Passion narrative and the four Gospels in preparation for creating the crucifix." The first time Meta showed him the sketch for "the Crucifixion," she said: "You notice that he is alive." The standard crucifix always showed a dead Christ on the cross, but Meta had changed the traditional depiction. To Rev. Wilson, Meta's face appeared to beam as she looked at the figure in her hands and explained what she had done. She emphasized that her "living" Christ was looking to the side and saying to the Thief: "Today you will be with me in paradise." Rev. Wilson believed that Meta had clearly shown the meaning of Calvary in her sculpture--that Christ offers eternal life to all sinners. During the weeks that intervened between the time that he first saw The Crucifixion and the time that Meta telephoned him to pick it up, something had happened to caused Meta to alter the figure again. On Sunday morning, September 15, someone had thrown a dynamite bomb in the Sixteenth Street Baptist Church, a black church in Birmingham, Alabama, and four little girls--Addie Mae Collins, Cynthia Wesley, and Carol Robertson, all age fourteen, and Denise McNair, age eleven--were killed.



Fig. 69. The Crucifixion (plaster)

Shocked and saddened, Meta had changed the position of Christ's head: he no longer was looking sideways; he was looking down. When Mason Wilson arrived for the figure, she explained in a quiet voice that she now felt that it was more fitting for Christ to be saying to mankind: "Father forgive them for they know not what they do."³²

There were very few times in Meta's life as an artist when she was so moved by historical events that she created something special: one of these was the First World War which resulted in Peace Halting the Ruthlessness of War; another was the period of racial violence concurrent to the war which led to Mary Turner: A Protest Against Mob Violence; and the last was the struggle for civil rights in the 1960s. Meta believed that the sixties represented another war in which black Americans were entrenched. Nothing convinced her of this more than the television, newspaper, and magazine pictures of the violence that occurred on March 7, 1964, "Bloody Sunday," when Alabama highway patrolmen attacked two-hundred-and-twenty-five peaceful demonstrators, men and women, who were marching from Selma, Alabama to Montgomery, Alabama in order to petition Governor George Wallace to end police brutality and grant black Alabamans the right to vote. Consequently, in addition to the crucifix that Rev. Mason Wilson had requested for the Lenten season that year, Meta created The Good Samaritan, based upon Jesus' illustration of the second part of the Golden Rule: "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." Meta presented her Good Samaritan to Rev. Wilson, who had gone to Montgomery in support of Martin Luther King.³³

Meta, whose childhood desire had been "to be a peacemaker" when she grew up, was a great admirer of King and his non-violent approach

to the struggle for civil rights. And, although she was no longer an activist to the extent that she had been in the teens and in the twenties, Meta did what she could to aid the struggle. For example, she donated sculpture to benefit the Southern voters' rights campaigns.³⁴

Although Meta was eighty-seven now and not always in good health, she had no intention of retiring as a sculptor. In July, 1964, she created The Refugee, a statuette which represented an old, Jewish pilgrim making his escape from persecution, clutching his Torah and leaning on his staff. Its theme was similar to Exodus, her work of the 1940s, symbolizing the migration of Southern blacks to escape racism and economic deprivation, which had fallen apart when she attempted to move it from the studio. Meta also modeled a bust of folksinger Joan Baez, who was active in the Civil Rights Movement and whose music Meta enjoyed.³⁵

For the past nine years, Meta had been working at her home. Although she considered her facilities poor, she felt that they would do, "with the time that [she] had left. During the summer of 1964, however, Meta acquired a new studio; Sue Thurman spoke with Bruce Getchell and Alfred Perry, two young men of her acquaintance who owned a house at 107 Appleton Street in the South End section of Boston, and they agreed to give Meta a room where she could work and exhibit her sculpture. Meta was so happy that she had a new place to work that she wrote a friend: "I can't believe it is not a dream."³⁶

The acquisition of a new studio made Meta feel optimistic and she began thinking about a whole series of new projects. She planned to repair The Spirit of Emancipation, which had stood in the family garage for fifty years, make a new angel for Peace Halting the Ruthlessness of

War, sculpt a bust of black Episcopal priest Absalom Jones which she hoped the National (Episcopal) Cathedral in Washington, D.C., would accept, and create statuettes of slain president John F. Kennedy and black folksinger Harry Belafonte. On September 1, Meta actually drafted a fan letter to him, asking for a picture on which to base the work. She told Belafonte that she and her family possessed several of his records which they enjoyed. Moreover, seeing him on the Ed Sullivan television variety show had so delighted her that she was inspired to make the statuette. "As the oldest sculptor of my race," she said, "I am qualified to undertake this task and it would make me very happy to accomplish it."³⁷

With a studio in Boston's South End, Meta could become more involved in the life of the black community. She began making arrangements to teach sculpture to the children who used the Harriet Tubman Settlement House, which now was a community center. Furthermore, she worked for a month or more in order to produce subjects for an exhibit that was to be part of Tubman House's sixtieth anniversary celebration. Meta was to be honored as a special guest by having its auditorium named after her. On Saturday, October 18, the afternoon of the anniversary reception, Meta gave the community center The Praying Madonna for the auditorium.³⁸

The number of works that Meta had in progress was partially responsible for her inability to complete the Framingham Women's Club commission to produce sculpture for the Merriam Library until Autumn, 1964. She had taken her fellow women's club member's suggestion and had made something which might appeal to young people: Storytime, a group depicting a mother reading to her three children. In November, the



Fig. 70. Story Time

Framingham Women's Club presented Storytime to the new Framingham Center Library as part of an exhibition of Meta's works that it sponsored there.³⁹

Mounting the exhibition at the Framingham Center Library, in addition to her other projects, exhausted Meta. On December 14, she wrote Sylvia Dannett, who had become a friend since interviewing Meta for Profiles of Negro Womanhood: ". . . my exhibition . . . was such an undertaking and just about floored me--at one point I questioned surviving until Christmas; I am not quite myself even now." Meta was so weary that she postponed her Christmas exhibit of religious sculptures.⁴⁰

Actually, the entire winter was hard on Meta. During the Christmas holidays, her daughter-in-law Grace's mother, who always spent Christmas at 31 Warren Road, contracted a heavy cold. Meta did her best to nurse her back to health, but began to feel ill herself. When she consulted her physician, she diagnosed that Meta had "walking pneumonia."⁴¹

Meta still was feeling its effects on Sunday, March 21, when she slipped on a patch of ice and fell, landing on the base of her spine, while walking with her family to the automobile on their way to church. The fall was so painful that her alarmed family rushed her to the hospital for emergency care. Having to go to the hospital annoyed Meta; she was particularly unhappy when she received the bill for her treatment. ". . . they sent me a bill for \$45.00!" she wrote a friend. "Why couldn't I have hit my head and been knocked out completely? It would have cost less. The delayed reaction was almost worse than the fall but I am still here to tell the tale."⁴²

Meta was resilient. She felt well enough the next week to go to West Newton with friends in order to hear the Rabbi of Temple Shalom give an account of his march to Selma. Meta thought that "he was wonderful," especially when he "compared the march with the Exodus from Egypt."⁴³

Of course, Meta resumed sculpting as soon as she was comfortably mobile. By the first week of May, she was working on a number of pieces: a small "Pegasus", a window garden figure, for Eleanor Morse, a friend in Lincoln, Massachusetts; a small head of the Thurman's daughter Olive; "The Woodland Sprite," a little dancer which was to be a companion piece to The Water Sprite; "The Penitent," a two figure group approximately seven inches tall; and a portrait sketch of Harry Belafonte, which was proving to be difficult because she had no picture of him. In addition to these projects, Meta was gathering sculpture for her exhibit at Boston's Freedom House. The exhibit of religious subjects that she had postponed in December now was to be held on May 23, with sculpture based on a variety of themes. Furthermore, Meta intended to repair her Emancipation "giants" as soon as the weather became warm enough for her to work in the garage.⁴⁴

Oft times, eighty-eight-year-old Meta attempted to go far beyond her physical capacity to survive the work that she undertook. Because she had not rested sufficiently after her fall in March, the spinal injury she had sustained began to seriously affect her health. She was in and out of Framingham's Cushing Memorial Hospital for more than a year.⁴⁵

When her health began to fail, Meta became concerned about the

final disposition of some of her sculpture and started to give it away. For example, she arranged to donate The Pianist, the figure of Maud Cuney-Hare, to Radcliffe College out of friendship for Eleanor Morse, a member of Radcliffe's Class of 1922. She intended to make the presentation on June 9, 1966, her next birthday.

But, in June, 1966, Meta was in the hospital. Because she did not want to disappoint her friend Eleanor and Radcliffe, she made a special plea to leave the hospital on the morning of June 9 in order to present her statuette at the birthday tea that the college had planned for her. Permission was granted.⁴⁶

Wearing a blue silk print dress, Meta left Cushing Memorial that Thursday morning and was driven to the Radcliffe Graduate Center at 6 Ash Street in Cambridge for the 11:30 tea. When she arrived she was helped into a wheelchair and ushered into the designated reception room, where she was presented with an orchid. Then she sat for a while on a divan with her feet on a pillow, beside a polished Duncan Phyfe table which held her portrait of Maud Cuney Hare.⁴⁷

Among the family and friends there to honor Meta were Mrs. Elliot Richardson, Mrs. Copley Amory, Mrs. Frank Wiggleworth, Mrs. Robert Saltonstall, Mrs. Charles A. Coolidge, Mrs. Otto Snowden, Mrs. Harry Augusta, Mrs. Ronald T. Lyman, Jr., Mrs. Walter H. Caskey, and Mrs. McGeorge Bundy. The hostess for the occasion, Mrs. Carl Gilbert, chairman of Radcliffe's Board of Trustees, approached, Meta, took her hand, and said: "The occasion is such a happy one for Radcliffe. Its almost overwhelming to have Mrs. Fuller here on her 89th birthday. . . . We hope this is the best birthday and we hope you may have many, many

more." A short time later, President Mary Bunting came in to the reception, admired the statuette, took Meta's hand and told her how grateful the college was for her gift. When Mrs. Gilbert asked Meta if she would like to say a few words, Meta reminisced about Maud Cuney-Hare. "She had a tremendous sense of humor. Yet she lost her one and only child, a little girl, a very lovely little girl." Quickly switching to a lighter tone, Meta continued: "She encouraged me so much to do the work I did. She used to say: 'If you work only twenty minutes a day, you can do it.'" "And it's true," Meta added, recalling that she had worked twenty minutes "and much more." Finally Eleanor Morse spoke. She recalled how she had first seen Meta's sculpture at the Boston Public Library. Then she honored Meta by quoting from a recent biography of English philosopher Francis Bacon: "He knew that race is the most accidental thing in the world. Its the mountains that rise that count."⁴⁸

The birthday tea at Radcliffe College was to be one of Meta's last public appearances: her health continued to deteriorate rapidly. One cannot be certain when she knew of her impending death, but she had come to terms with her own mortality years before. Meta, who had dealt with the subject several times in her poetry, had written in 1964:

The time is near (reluctance laid aside)
 I see the barque afloat upon the ebbing tide,
 While on the shore my friends and loved ones stand,
 I wave to them a cheerful parting hand;
 Then take my place with Charon at the helm,
 And turn and wave again to them.
 Oh, may the voyage not be arduous nor long,
 But echoing with chant and joyful song,
 May I behold with reverence and grace,
 The wondrous vision of the Master's face.

Meta was truly at peace during her final days. And, she continued to enjoy the poetry that she had loved her life-long. She could sit for hours, reading and reciting it--whether it had been written by herself or by others. Meta's nieces Elizabeth Barker and Margaret Holmes remembered vividly their last visit with her at Cushing Memorial Hospital in March, 1968. She was frail and thin--"a tiny, little sparrow"--according to Margaret Holmes. In spite of everything, she lay in her hospital bed cheerfully reciting poetry as her family gathered near. One of these was "The Merrythought," a humorous poem about weight decisions concerning the division of a king and queen's roast fowl, which Meta had learned as a child. The poem was as long as her own "Mystic Ring," yet as Margaret Holmes recalled: "she recited [it] in the same clear voice that I had always remembered, and with the same memory--absolutely unfailing memory." Elizabeth Barker's daughter-in-law, Faith Nichols, who also had been present, was so moved by Meta's serenity on this occasion that she felt the need to say a special goodbye:

Bone and birdlike fragile form
 Perched on large pillows and linen-veiled;
 Remarkable and long fingers
 And ageless upright human head
 The face alight to know and think
 The voice aglow with poetry
 A magic of youth.
 The immortal spirit
 Housed in its remnant of ninety-years
 Flesh and brittle structure
 Proclaims musically, soft and clear,
 I am ready to depart
 Oh, my heart's child, goodbye. 50

On Wednesday, March 18, 1968, at the age of ninety-one, Meta Vaux Warrick Fuller died.

NOTES

Chapter I. A World of Promises and Dreams

¹William Francis O'Donnell, "Meta Vaux Warrick, Sculptor of Horrors: The Negro Girl Whose Products are Being Compared to Rodin's" The World Today, (November, 1907), p. 1139.

²Ibid.; Rainer Maria Rilke to Clara Rilke, Tuesday, 2 September, 1902, R.F.C. Hull, Selected Letters of Rainer Maria Rilke, 1902-1926, (London: Macmillan and Co., 1946), pp. 4-5; Robert Descharnes and Jean-Francois Chabrun, August Rodin. (New York: Viking Press, 1967), p. 277. Rodin did not marry Rose Beuret until January 29, 1917, less than a month before her death.

³O'Donnell, "Meta Vaux Warrick, Sculptor of Horrors," p. 1139; "a kindly old man," Sylvia G.L. Dannett, Transcript of Interview with Meta Warrick Fuller, 9, 10 April, 1964, p. 1 (to be referred to from here on as Dannett Transcript).

⁴Descharnes and Chabrun, Auguste Rodin, p. 238. This was art critic Leon Roitor's description of Rodin.; "felt like a schoolgirl . . ." Dannett Transcript, p. 2.

⁵Sylvia G.L. Dannett, Profiles of Negro Womanhood, Volume II, The Twentieth Century. (Yonkers, N.Y.: Educational Heritage Press, 1966), p. 34; Benjamin Brawley, "Meta Warrick Fuller," The Southern Workman, XLVII (January, 1918), 29; Joseph Katz, ed., The Poems of Stephen Crane: A Critical Edition. (New York: Cooper Square Publishers, 1966), p. 5.

"The Heart" first appeared as untitled poem number 3 in Crane's The Black Riders and Other Lines, published in 1896. Meta Warrick's The Secret Sorrow was also known as The Silent Sorrow and as The Man Eating His Heart.

⁶"The Work of Meta Warwick Fuller," The Bay State Banner, June 18, 1956.

⁷O'Donnell, "Meta Vaux Warrick, Sculptor of Horrors," p. 1139.

⁸Nathan I. Huggins, Harlem Renaissance, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), p. 195. Huggins uses Lewis Mumford's term "custodians of culture" to define the white art establishment in relation to the black artist's role in the early twentieth century.

⁹O'Donnell, "Meta Vaux Warrick, Sculptor of Horrors," p. 1144.

¹⁰Genealogy. Fuller Family Papers. Solomon Carter Fuller, Jr. Bourne, Massachusetts; Interview with Dorothy Warrick Taylor, Germantown, Pa., February 15, 1980. Mrs. Taylor is Meta Fuller's niece, the daughter of her older brother William Warrick.

¹¹William Henry Warrick's Free Papers, 1835. Warrick Family Papers, Dorothy Warrick Taylor, Germantown, Pa. Warrick's free papers described him as an "American seaman, aged 27 years, of the height of 5 feet 9 inches, of mulatto complexion, wooly hair, hazel eyes, with a scar over his left lip."; Robert McColley, Slavery and Jeffersonian Virginia, (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1964), p. 12; Ira Berlin, Slaves Without Masters: The Free Negro in the Antebellum South, (New York: Random House, 1974), pp. 342-44; Ibid., p. 248; Warrick Family Bible. Dorothy Warrick Taylor, Germantown, Pa. The Bible had been presented to William Henry Warrick by Judge Farrar in 1857; Dorothy Taylor Interview, February 28, 1979.

¹²Edmund Ruffin, Address to the Virginia State Agricultural Society, On the Effects of Domestic Slavery on the Manners, Habits and Welfare of the Agricultural Population of the Southern States; And the Slavery of Class to Class in Northern States. Read at the First Annual Meeting, in the Hall of the House of Delegates. December 16, 1852. Richmond, Va.: P.D. Bernard, Printer, 1853, p. 18; George Fitzhugh, What Shall Be Done with the Free Negroes, (Fredericksburg, Va., 1851), p. 6. quoted in Berlin, Slaves Without Masters, p. 367.

¹³Berlin, Slaves Without Masters, p. 131; Ibid., pp. 336-38. Even though the Virginia legislature never succeeded in passing an expulsion law in the 1850s, conditions in the state were such that free blacks believed that it might.

¹⁴Theodore Hershberg, Alan H. Burstein, Eugene P. Ericksen, Stephanie Greenberg, and William L. Yancy, "A Tale of Three Cities: Blacks and Immigrants in Philadelphia: 1850-1880, 1930, and 1970," Annals, American Academy of Political and Social Sciences, 441 (January, 1979), 63; William Edward Burghardt DuBois, The Philadelphia Negro, (Reprint ed. Millwood, N.Y.: Kraus-Thomas Organization, Ltd., 1973), p. 33; McElroy's Philadelphia Directory, for 1857, 20th ed. (Philadelphia: Edward C. Biddle and John Biddle. Printed by Henry B. Ashmead, 1857), p. 743; Philadelphia Manuscript Census, 1960, Record Group 29, National Archives, Washington, D.C.; Berlin, Slaves Without Masters, pp. 235-60 passim.; Philadelphia Manuscript Census, 1860. The census credits William Warrick, Sr. with \$1300 in real estate and a personal estate of \$500.; Theodore Hershberg et al. "A Tale of Three Cities," 65.

¹⁵Allan H. Spear. Black Chicago: The Making of a Negro Ghetto, 1890-1920, (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1967), 54. Spear's typology for Chicago's "old elite", that is the upper-class before 1900, also applies to the black elites of other northern cities.; W.E.B. DuBois, The Philadelphia Negro, p. 7. Upper-class blacks were scattered throughout the better sections of the Seventh Ward on Twelfth, lower Seventeenth, and Nineteenth streets, and in the western sections of the city.

¹⁶Philadelphia Manuscript Census, 1850. Record Group 29, National Archives, Washington, D.C. The census shows that Jones was born in the

West Indies in 1811.; McElroy's Philadelphia Directory, for 1839, 2nd ed. (Philadelphia: A[rchibald] McElroy. Printed by Isaac Ashmead and Company, 1839); The Jones family growth and rise in status might be traced through the Philadelphia directories, 1839-1860. In 1839 they lived in a multi-family dwelling on Quince Street in the Seventh Ward. With an increase in family growth, they moved to Current Alley. (At that time, inner-city alleys were poor neighborhoods.) After establishing his own business, Jones was able to move his family to South Twelfth Street, with a final move into a better house on the same street in 1860.; Elizabeth Robins Pennell and Joseph Pennell, Our Philadelphia, (Philadelphia and London: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1914), pp. 126 and 456; DuBois, The Philadelphia Negro, p. 35; Sylvia Dannett, Profiles of Negro Womanhood, II: 31; Catering Record Book, n.d., Warrick Family Papers, Dorothy Warrick Taylor, Germantown, Pa.; Interview with Dorothy Warrick Taylor, Germantown, Pa., February 28, 1979.

¹⁷Family Genealogy, Fuller Family Papers, Bourne, Mass.; In 1791 Robert Ralston is listed as a merchant at 127 South Third Street, Philadelphia. (Clement Biddle, Philadelphia Directory, 1891.)

¹⁸Dorothy Warrick Taylor Interview, February 28, 1979.

¹⁹Meta Vaux Warrick to W.E.B. DuBois, January 8, 1908, W.E.B. DuBois Papers, University of Massachusetts Archives, Amherst, Massachusetts. Brown did not stay with the Joneses. He probably stayed with William Still on Lombard Street or with Robert Purvis. According to Meta Warrick, such men as Jones, Thomas J. Dorsey, Henry Minton (all caterers), Gus Dorsey, Robert Purvis, and William Still entertained John Brown in their homes.; Computer printout of organizational affiliations of the Jones Family. University of Pennsylvania Social History Project; Wendy Bell and Tony Martin, Rare Afro-Americana: A Reconstruction of the Adger Library. Boston: G. K. Hall and Company, 1981.

²⁰Theodore Hershberg and Henry Williams, "Mulattoes and Blacks: Intro-Group Color Differences in Nineteenth-Century Philadelphia," (unpublished article), appendix, n.p.; Vincent Franklin, The Education of Black Philadelphia, pp. 11-12; Ball and Martin, Rare Afro-Americana, p. 8.

One of the most melodramatic accounts of discrimination of Philadelphia's streetcars came from Rev. William J. Alston, rector of the Warrick's church, St. Thomas's Episcopal Church, and was published in the city's leading Republican newspaper, the Philadelphia Press:

"TO THE CHRISTIAN PUBLIC OF PHILADELPHIA--Within the past week, my only living child having been at death's door, by our physician we were directed to take him over the Delaware river as often as convenient. On our return to the Philadelphia side, on one occasion, the child became completely prostrated. I held my ear to his mouth three several times to ascertain whether he was still alive. Such a death-like appearance came over him, I felt the necessity of reaching home as soon as possible,

and to my satisfaction (for the time being), I saw one of the Lombard and South street cars approaching, which I hailed, and was in the act of entering, when the conductor arrested my progress that I could not enter--being colored. I referred him to the condition of my child, but all to no purpose; he ordered the driver to go on, regardless of our humble plea. . . . Had the cars been overloaded, that would have been excuse sufficient; but the fact of the case is, that the only persons on the cars referred to were the conductor and the driver." (Quoted in James M. McPherson, The Negro's Civil War, How American Negroes Felt and Acted During the War for the Union, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf and Random House, 1965), p. 258.

²¹Franklin, The Education of Black Philadelphia. p. 11; Ball and Martin, Rare Afro-Americana. p. 9-10; Printout of the organizational affiliation of the Jones Family, Philadelphia Social History Project.

²²"in a common brotherhood . . .", Constitution of the Pennsylvania State Equal Rights League [ca. 1878], p. 1. quoted in Ball and Martin, Rare Afro-Americana, p. 9; Ibid., p. 10; Franklin, The Education of Black Philadelphia, p. 11.

In 1871 Philadelphia Negroes were able to vote for the first time since 1838, a consequence of the ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution. As a result of black participation in the fall elections, racial violence erupted. One of the three Negroes killed in the rioting was schoolteacher Octavius V. Catto.

²³"the case of whipping and burning the Colored women. . . ." A synopsis of the Proceedings of the Second Annual Meeting of the Pennsylvania State Equal Rights League, at Pittsburg, August 8th, 9th, and 10th, 1866. (Philadelphia: Published by the League, 1866), p. 16. Quoted in Ball and Martin, Rare Afro-Americana, p. 10; "What we desire at your hands, Gentlemen, is simple JUSTICE. . . ." "To the Honorable the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States, In Congress Assembled," February 20, 1866, quoted in Rare Afro-Americana, p. 11.

²⁴Computer printout of organizational affiliations for the Warrick Family. Considering the overlapping membership in the Social, Civic, and Statistical Association and the Pennsylvania State Equal Rights League, it is possible that Warrick also continued his political participation through the league. Although existing organizational papers of black Philadelphia provide a wealth of information on that community, they do not provide a complete record of individuals who may have belonged to a group.

²⁵Philadelphia Manuscript Census, 1870. Record Group 29, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

²⁶Pennell and Pennell, Our Philadelphia, p. 148; Photograph of the Warrick barber shop, Fuller Family Papers, Bourne, Ma.; Interview with

Dorothy Warrick Taylor, February 28, 1979; Interview with Solomon Carter Fuller, Jr., Bourne, Ma., November 29, 1976. The Warricks had black patrons, but, as was common when blacks were involved in personal services with white customers, the black customers were seen after regular working hours.

²⁷Meta Vaux Warrick Fuller, "Biographical Notes," Ms. n.d., Meta Warrick Fuller Papers, Solomon Carter Fuller, Jr., Bourne, Ma.; The date of Virginia Warrick's death was calculated from her age as recorded in the 1870 Census.; Interview with Margaret Cardozo Holmes and Elizabeth Cardozo Barker, Osterville, Ma., October 11, 1978. Solomon Fuller had never heard the story of Virginia's death; there was no reason that he should have. His mother, Meta Fuller, had not been born. On the other hand, Blanche Warrick Cardozo, Holmes' and Barker's mother, was old enough to remember the event well. As a result, she never let her children eat out.

²⁸DuBois, Philadelphia Negro, p. 121n; Margaret Holmes-Elizabeth Barker Interview, October 11, 1978; The Mount Moriah Cemetery Association, Plaintiff in Error v. Commonwealth of Pennsylvania ex rel W. H. Boileau and Margaret Jones. 108 (Pa. 1876).

²⁹Dannett Transcript, p. 1.

³⁰Meta Warrick Fuller, "Biographical Notes"; Meta would later paint a still life of Virginia's belongings.

³¹Velma J. Hoover, "Meta Vaux Warrick Fuller, Her Life and Art," Negro History Bulletin, LX(March-April, 1977), 678. Hoover implies that all of Meta's childhood was private and lonely, that her mother, wishing to raise her girls to be ladies like her customers, prevented them from much contact with their peers.; Winifred and Frances Kirkland, Girls Who Became Artists, (1934, Essay Index Reprint Series. Freeport, N.Y.: Books for Libraries Press, 1967), pp. 47-48.

³²O'Donnell, "Meta Vaux Warrick," p. 1142.

³³Kirkland and Kirkland, Girls Who Became Artists, p. 48-49; Florence Lewis Bentley, "Meta Warrick, A Promising Sculptor," The Voice of the Negro, IV,2(March, 1907), p. 116.

³⁴Kirkland and Kirkland, Girls Who Became Artists, p. 48.

³⁵"joys of green meadows . . ." Ibid.

³⁶Nomination Blank, William E. Harmon Awards for Distinguished Achievement Among Negroes, 1929. Records of the William E. Harmon Foundation, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress. The Locust Street Girls' School was located at Twentieth and Locust Streets;; Kirkland and Kirkland, Girls Who Became Artists, p. 47.

In 1881 the Pennsylvania legislature, in compliance with the equal

protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment, repealed the separate school provision in its educational statutes. The state supreme court upheld this action in 1882. The Pennsylvania law against discrimination, however, did not end the practice of segregating black children in public schools; it merely prohibited legal segregation of black children by city and county governments. (Franklin, Education of Black Philadelphia, p. 34.) Even when a school was supposedly integrated, there were often separate classrooms, or separate sections within a classroom for black children.

³⁷Interview with Sylvia G. L. Dannett, Scarsdale, N.Y., July 20, 1978; Dannett Transcript, p. 6; Interview with Dorothy Warrick Taylor, February 28, 1979.

³⁸Dannett Transcript, p. 47.

³⁹"swill from vendors carts and stalls. . . ." Charles E. Funnell, By the Beautiful Sea: The Rise and High Times of a Great American City, (New York: Random House and Knopf, 1975), p. 22; Meta Vaux Warrick to William H. Warrick (her brother), August 8, 1886. M.W.F. Papers, Bourne, Ma.

⁴⁰Charles E. Funnell, By the Beautiful Sea: The Rise and High Times of a Great American City. (New York: Random House and Knopf, 1975), p. 22. Using railroad pamphlets and time tables, Funnell provides a vivid description of the right-of-way from Camden, New Jersey to Atlantic City.

⁴¹"shallow curves, past creeks . . ." Ibid.

⁴²"pitch pine and scrub oak . . ." Ibid.; "druidical white cedars . . ." Ibid.; "pungent yarrow and fragrant purple horsemint" Ibid.

⁴³Ibid. In 1978 and 1979 these old resort hotels were dynamited to make way for gambling casinos.

⁴⁴Interview with Margaret Cardozo Holmes, West Hyannisport, Massachusetts, September 5, 1979; Stereoscopic photograph. Elizabeth Cardozo Barker, Osterville, Ma.; Meta Vaux Warrick to William H. Warrick, Jr., August 8, 1886.

⁴⁵Funnell, By the Beautiful Sea, pp. 24-25.

⁴⁶Ibid., pp. 37 and 45; Holmes-Barker Interview, October 11, 1978.

⁴⁷Ibid.: Solomon C. Fuller, Jr., Interview, November 12, 1978.

⁴⁸Holmes-Barker Interview, October 11, 1978.

⁴⁹Dannett Transcript, pp. 5-6; Funnell, By the Beautiful Sea, p. 30. Funnell points out that "although black servants could sit in the

pavilions along the Boardwalk, wealthy black tourists were denied admission."; "like fruit in a huckleberry pudding . . ." The Philadelphia Enquirer, July 23, 1893, quoted in Funnell, p. 29; Dannett Transcript, p. 6.

⁵⁰Interview with Margaret Holmes, September 5, 1979.

A fad in Atlantic City of 1893 was the "widow craze." According to belief, the widow possessed a worldly wisdom lacking in the maiden. Thus they were attractive to all types of men. Single women would come to the resort dressed in black stylish clothing, hoping, by means of their apparent bereavement, to gain the solicitations of gallant gentlemen. (Funnell, By the Beautiful Sea, p. 42.)

⁵¹"a wooden battlement . . ." Ibid., p. 122; "cheerful symbols of the Machine," Ibid., p. 61; In 1894 the Amphetheatre, located on the Boardwalk, presented Bartholomew's Equine Paradox, 24 Educated Horses that "do everything but talk." (Funnell, p. 57)

⁵²Dannett, Profiles of Negro Womanhood, II:32; Dannett Transcript, p. 6. At first Meta Fuller said that not being able to ride the merry-go-round did not bother her; then she remembered her later reaction to the Poet and Peasant.

⁵³Ibid.

Chapter II. Matters of Education

¹Kirkland and Kirkland, Girls Who Became Artists, p. 49; Handbook of the Board of Public Education, First School District of Pennsylvania, City of Philadelphia, 1908-1909, (Philadelphia: Waltner Printing House, 1909), p. 16. The Hollingsworth School was a primary school, with kindergarten through the eighth grade. Grades K-4 were coeducational; grades 5-8 were for female students only.; The Philadelphia Tribune, October 25, 1902; Dannett Transcript, p. 5; Elizabeth Robins Pennell, Charles Godfrey Leland, A Biography, 3 Volumes, (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin and Company, 1906), II: 98.

²Lawrence A. Cremin, The Transformation of the School: Progressivism in American Education, 1876-1957 (New York: Random House, 1961), p. 23; Pennell and Pennell, Our Philadelphia, pp. 254-55.

President John D. Runkle of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology believed as Leland did. In training people for life in new urban and industrial society, he thought that the balance between manual and mental training, which had existed in the early Republic's apprenticeship system, should be reestablished. As a result of this thinking, the founding of manual training schools became a trend in the 1880s. (See Cremin, p. 26.)

³Pennell and Pennell, Our Philadelphia, pp. 254-55; Diane Chalmers

Johnson, American Art Nouveau (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1979), p. 19.

⁴"a knowledge of art . . ." Pennell, Charles Godfrey Leland, II: 105; "Design is the flower . . ." Ibid.

⁵Pennell and Pennell, Our Philadelphia, p. 257; Pennell, Charles Godfrey Leland, II: 102; Kirkland and Kirkland, Girls Who Became Artists, p. 49; Dannett Transcript, p. 5.

⁶Pennell, Charles Godfrey Leland, II: 101-104; "as good as Ebenezer . . ." Charles Godfrey Leland to Walter Besart, April 18, 1881, quoted in Charles Godfrey Leland, II: 101.

⁷Pennell and Pennell, Our Philadelphia, p. 219; "Romany Rye" was Leland's nickname derived from his study of the folklore and folkways of European Gypsies. . .

⁸Diane Chalmers Johnson, American Art Nouveau, p. 17; Pennell, Charles Godfrey Leland, II: 112; Pennell and Pennell, Our Philadelphia, pp. 330 and 332.

⁹Johnson, American Art Nouveau, pp. 21-22. In his article "Christianity and Aestheticism" which appeared in the Andover Review, Washington Gladden stated that "no subtler or more dangerous foe of civilization is now abroad than the moral indifference which festers so much in our art." Charles Eliot Norton of Harvard University echoes this sentiment in 1888.; Pennell and Pennell, Our Philadelphia, pp. 396-97.

¹⁰"far above the amateur class . . ." Florence Bentley, "Meta Warrick, a Promising Sculptor." The Voice of the Negro, p. 116. Bentley had known the Warrick girls since they were children.

¹¹Pennell, Charles Godfrey Leland, II: 107; "here real talent was discovered . . ." Kirkland and Kirkland, Girls Who Became Artists, p. 49; James V. Herring, "The Negro Sculptor," Crisis Magazine, August, 1942, p. 262. Meta was not the only black student at J. Liberty Tadd's. Another was May Howard Jackson who, along with Edmonia Lewis and Meta, was to be one of the first black atelier sculptors.

¹²Meta Vaux Warrick Diary, April 27-28, 1895; Kirkland and Kirkland, Girls Who Became Artists, p. 49.

¹³Meta Warrick Fuller, "World's Paris," Ms. Meta Fuller Papers, Bourne, Massachusetts; The name "White City" was derived from the main group of buildings at the exposition which were constructed of "staff", a material which shone like marble in the sunlight.

¹⁴Philadelphia School District, Board of Public Education, Seventy-Third Annual Report (Philadelphia, 1892), pp. 96-98.

¹⁵Monroe A. Majors, Noted Negro Women (Chicago: Donohue & Henneberry, Printers, Binders and Engravers, 1893; Reprint ed. Freeport, N.Y.: Books for Libraries Press, 1971); George H. Frederickson, The Black Image in the White Mind: The Debate on Afro-American Character and Destiny, 1817-1914 (New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1971), pp. 228-255; Majors, Noted Negro Women, p. vii. The author defined the "true woman" as "the best, the grandest of all God's human creatures; a being of light, immaculate in her chastity, a paragon in her purity and capable of ennobling the man of her liking. A woman's gentle spirit is all-pervading virtue, whose influence softens the spell and fills our life niche with its calm fragrance. Her smile intensifies our joys and leads us to forget the pickerings, the sins, the hard angular elbowing in the avaricious competition of a callous world and opens our eyes to the brighter, the better side of earth's paradise." (For more on the notion of "woman on a pedestal", see Barbara Welter, "The Cult of True Womanhood: 1820-1860," American Quarterly, XVI (1966), 151-174; "what our intellectual women will do . . ." Majors, Noted Negro Women, p. viii. This belief was reflected as one of the goals of the late nineteenth-early twentieth century black club-women's movement. Hundreds of women's organizations had social uplift projects among their activities;; "a signification of Negro progress," Ibid., p. ix; "bloom into beautiful and useful womanhood." Ibid., p. viii.

¹⁶Samella Lewis, Art: African American (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc., 1978), p. 56; Records of the University of Pennsylvania Social History Project.

¹⁷Majors, Noted Negro Women, pp. 27-30; James A. Porter, Modern Negro Art (Reprint ed., New York: Arno Press, 1969), pp. 57-63.

Majors' sources were somewhat stereotypical in that they described Lewis as not even knowing what sculpture was when she arrived in Boston. These early sources implied that she was uneducated when in fact she had spent time studying at Oberlin College before coming to Boston. Porter's work was used to clarify Majors' account.

¹⁸Majors, Noted Negro Women, pp. 208, 209, 217-218, and 344.

¹⁹Lewis, Art: African American, p. 20; "[courage] was necessary . . ." Henry Ossawa Tanner, "The Story of an Artist's Life," The World's Work, 18(January, 1909), 11665; "repressing load I carried . . ." Ibid.

²⁰Interview with Dorothy Warrick Taylor; Richard R. Wright, Jr., The Negro in Pennsylvania: A Study in Economic History (Philadelphia: 1912; Reprint ed., New York: Arno Press and the New York Times, 1969), p. 79. The first black doctor to graduate from the University of Pennsylvania Medical School was Nathan F. Mossell in 1882.; Dannett Transcript, p. 4; Walter Augustus Simon, "Henry O. Tanner--A Study of the Development of an American Negro Artist: 1859-1937," (Ph.D. dissertation. New York University, 1969), pp. 91 and 107.

²¹Holmes-Barker Interview; Solomon C. Fuller, Jr. Interview, Novem-

ber 29, 1976; Dannett Transcript, p. 4.

²²Warrick Diary, March 6, 1895.

²³Warrick Diary, 1895 passim.

²⁴Warrick Diary, January 4, 1895; Ibid., January 27 and February 24, 1896; Dannett, Profiles of Negro Womanhood, II: 32.

²⁵Hershberg and Williams, "Mulattoes and Blacks . . .", appendix, n.p.; Philadelphia Social History Project, Computer printout of the organizational affiliations of the Warrick Family; James G. Spady, "The Afro-American Historical Society: The Nucleus of Black Bibliophies, 1897-1923," Negro History Bulletin 37(1974), 254. According to James Banneker, the last surviving descendant of the famous, black scientist, the family name had been misspelled Banneker for nearly a century.; Ball and Martin, Rare Afro-Americana, pp. 2-13 passim.; Philadelphia Social History Project, Computer printout of the organizational affiliations of the Jones Family.

²⁶Hershberg and Williams, "Mulattoes and Blacks . . ." appendix; Ball and Martin, Rare Afro-Americana, p. 13.

²⁷Spady, "The Afro-American Historical Society," Negro History Bulletin 37(1974), 254.

The length of time which the Banneker Institute existed can only be estimated. It is known, however, that it was still active in 1871, when member Octavius V. Catto was murdered in election rioting. According to William Bolivar, an eyewitness who provided an account to the Philadelphia Tribune,

A cigar store kept by Morris Brown, Jr., was the resort of Pythian and Banneker members, and it was at this place on the night prior to the murder that Catto appeared among his old friends for the last time. When the hour arrived for going home, Catto went the near and dangerous way to his residence, 814 South Street, and said as he left, "I would not stultify my manhood by going to my home in a roundabout way." [Quoted in DuBois, The Philadelphia Negro, p. 40n.]

The Pythians was one of at least six baseball clubs that black Philadelphians organized during the years immediately following the Civil War. The Pythians were formed late, in 1866. Other baseball clubs were the Excelsiors, the Resolutes, the Libertys, and the L'Ouvertures. The Pythians was the largest, with 116 members. In addition to other local Philadelphia teams, Pythians played regularly in an informal network, stretching throughout the Northeast. Their opponents included teams from West Chester, Pennsylvania; Brooklyn and Albany, New York; Baltimore, Maryland; and the District of Columbia.

Belonging to the Pythians Baseball Clubs could be expensive. When

playing out-of-town games, members often brought their entire families. On these occasions, the itinerary included picnics, parties, and relatively costly accommodations. It was supposedly for this reason that William Still resigned from the club. Still had paid his first year's dues, but was in arrears for 1867 and 1868. When the club asked him to pay his dues, Still replied that "Our kin in the South famishing for knowledge have claimes so great and pressing that I feel bound to give my means in this direction to the extent of my abilities, in preference to giving for frivolous amusement." [The question of whether an individual's social involvement by its nature inhibits his ability to fulfill his civic responsibility still is debated in the black community today.] Historian Tony Martin noted that this came six months after Still's resignation from the First African Presbyterian Church, and that the two incidents may have been related. In any case, most Pythians believed that one could belong to both civil rights and social organizations.

For many, membership in the Pythians overlapped many organizations but the relationship between the club and the Banneker Institute was especially close. Institute members who played for the Pythians' various teams were Octavius Catto, captain of the strongest team, Jacob C. White, Jr., William C. Bolivar, Robert Adger, Jr., Theophilus Minton, Henry Minton, Charles W. Thomas, and Andrew Jones.

The baseball club was particularly strong during its early years. During the 1868 season, when Meta's Uncle Andrew Jones was a member, Pythian Secretary Jacob White noted that "it rarely happens, inceed that a Base Ball Club passes an entire season, contending with other clubs indiscriminately--challenging as well as challenged--without, in a single instance, meeting with defeat." (Hershberg and Williams, "Mulattoes and Blacks," appendix; Ball and Martin, Rare Afro-Americana, pp. 13-14.)

²⁸Spady, "The Afro-American Historical Society," p. 255. History owes the survival of the only known copy of David Walker's Appeal, recognized as perhaps the earliest black, militant, political tract, to William Bolivar.

²⁹Ibid., p. 266; Interview with Mrs. Lydia Forbes Brown. Mrs. Brown is William Bolivar's first cousin, once removed. Bolivar lived with her family during his last years.; Interview with Dorothy Warrick Taylor, December 29, 1981. Mrs. Taylor received a volume from Bolivar when she was a small child.; "How his countenance would light up . . ." Ball and Martin, Rare Afro-Americana, p. 21.

³⁰Warrick Diary, 1896, passim.

³¹Dorothy Warrick Taylor Interview; Dannett Transcript, pp. 47-48; Kirkland and Kirkland, Girls Who Became Artists, p. 49.

³²Warrick Diary, January 16, 1896; William Gerdtz, American Neo-Classic Sculpture: The Marble Resurrection (New York: The Viking Press, 1973), p. 52.

³³Esther Popel Shaw, "Meta Vaux Warrick--Genius," Aframerican Women's

Journal, IV,2(Summer, 1944), 16; Meta Warrick Fuller, "How I Went to Paris to Study Art," Ms., Meta Warrick Fuller Papers, Bourne, Massachusetts; School of Industrial Art of the Pennsylvania Museum, Circular of the School of Applied Art, Twentieth Season, 1896-97 (Philadelphia, 1896), p. 31.

³⁴Warrick Diary, June 5 through July 11, 1896; William J. Simmons, Men of Mark, Eminent, Progressive, and Rising (George M. Rewell & Co., 1887; Reprint ed. Chicago: Johnson Publishing Co., 1970), pp. 281-83. Francis Cardozo (spelled Cardoza in some sources) was the son of Francis Lewis Cardozo (1837-1903). Francis Cardozo, Sr. served in the Reconstruction government of South Carolina. In 1868 he was a member of the Constitutional Convention as well as Secretary of State, and served as South Carolina's Treasurer in 1872. From 1884-1896 he was principal of the Colored High Schools of the District of Columbia, that city's first black principal.; Warrick Diary, 1897. Francis Cardozo, Jr. and Blanche Warrick married on June 30, 1897.

Chapter III. The Chrysalis

¹School of Industrial Art of the Pennsylvania Museum. Circular of the School of Applied Art, Eighteenth Season, 1894-5. (Philadelphia, 1895), pp. 7-9.

²School of Industrial Art of the Pennsylvania Museum. Circular of the School of Applied Art, Twentieth Season, 1896-97. (Philadelphia, 1896), passim.; Ibid., p. 30.

³Ibid., p. 13. Classes began on September 28, 1896.; Ibid., pp. 20-23.

⁴Ibid.

⁵Warrick Diary, October 12, 1896; School of Applied Art Circular, 1896-97, p. 29; Warrick Diary, January 25, February 1, and March 15, 1897.

⁶Warrick Diary, 1897, passim.

⁷Ibid., February 8-12, 1897; "I wanted to go to the lecture . . ." Ibid., February 11, 1897; "at twenty minutes past one. . . ." Ibid., February 12, 1897.

⁸" . . . feel very bright." Ibid., February 14, 1897; "owing to the fact that . . ." Ibid., February 15, 1897.

⁹Ibid., February 16, 1897; "I lift mine eyes unto the hills . . ." The Book of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, According to the Use of the Protest-

ant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, Together with the Psalter or Psalms of David. (New York: The Church Pension Fund, 1945), p. 502.

¹⁰Warrick Diary, February 17 and 18, 1897.

¹¹Ibid., February 23, 1897; "gave it to me about school work . . ." Ibid., March 22, 1897.

¹²School of Applied Art Circular, 1896-97, pp. 22 and 24; Warrick Diary March-May, 1897.

¹³Warrick Diary, May 14, 1897; Edwin Wolf. Philadelphia, Portrait of an American City (Philadelphia: Stackpole Books, 1975), p. 241; The Public Ledger (Philadelphia), May 17, 1897; The Public Ledger, May 14, 1897; The Public Ledger, May 15, 1897; "Fifteen tailless kites . . ." Ibid., "Papa, I cannot tell a lie . . ." Ibid.

¹⁴Ibid.

¹⁵Interview with William O. Gilbert (grandson), February 26, 1980. Philadelphia, Pa.; "spoke to me and bowed to Mr. G.", Warrick Diary, May 14, 1897.

¹⁶The Public Ledger, May 15, 1897.

¹⁷School of Applied Art Circular, 1896-97, p. 31; The Pennsylvania Museum and School of Industrial Art. The Twentieth Annual Report of the Trustees with the List of Members for the Year ending December 31, 1895. Philadelphia, 1896. p. 39; "I'm very much annoyed about the hands and feet . . ." Warrick Diary, May 28, 1897.

¹⁸Pamela H. Simpson, "The Sculpture of Charles Grafly" (Ph.D. dissertation. University of Delaware, 1974), p. 28.

¹⁹The Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts. In this Academy, The Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, 1805-1976: A Special Bi-Centennial Exhibition (Philadelphia, 1976), p. 56; According to Lloyd Goodrich, a biographer of Thomas Eakins, the Beaux-Arts or Parisian system was "taught with relentless thoroughness" and thus, was "painstakingly naturalistic." [Thomas Eakins--His Life and Work. (New York: Whitney Museum of American Art, 1933), p. 14 quoted in Simons, "Henry O. Tanner," pp. 72-73.]

Modeling from casts assumed a minor role after the adoption of the Beaux-Arts style: it was for beginning students. According to Christian Schussele, formerly director of the Pennsylvania Academy (1868-1879), drawing from casts was still advantageous for the novice because casts were immobile, "never changing place nor light." Moreover, they were uniform in color, "showing form more clearly and truly than life where various tints of flesh often bewilder the young and inexperienced student." (In This Academy, p. 59.)

²⁰Walter A. Simons, "Henry O. Tanner," p. 76; "to draw the human figure . . ." Ibid., pp. 77-78; "Don't copy. Feel the forms." Ibid., p. 79; "Get the profile of the head . . ." Ibid., p. 80.

²¹The Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, In this Academy, p. 59; "never changing place nor light." Ibid., p. 56; "showing form more clearly and truly than life . . ." Ibid.

²²Circular of the School of Applied Art, 1896-87, p. 27; Ibid., p. 14; Karen Petersen and J. J. Wilson, Women Artists, p. 84; Ibid., p. 80; Elizabeth Rogers Payne, "Anne Whitney: Art and Social Justice," The Massachusetts Review, XII (Spring, 1971), 47-48.

²³Henry O. Tanner, "The Story of An Artist's Life," p. 11665.

²⁴For a description of the Beaux-Arts method, see Pamela H. Simpson, "The Sculpture of Charles Grafly," p. 28.

²⁵Diane Chalmers Johnson, American Art Nouveau, p. 220.

²⁶Ibid., p. 221; Elihu Vedder to "Dear Madam," declining an invitation to speak at Brooklyn Women's Art School, Boston, March, 1887. Elihu Vedder Papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institute, Washington D.C. quoted in Charles C. Eldredge, American Imagination and Symbolist Painting. (New York: Grey Art Gallery and Study Center, New York University, 1979), p. 16; "what I see when I hear music . . ." Ibid., p. 81.

²⁷Phillip Jullian, Dreamers of Decadence: Symbolist Painters of the 1890s. Originally published as Esthètes et Magiciens. (Paris: Librairie académique Perrin, 1969; Trans ed. New York and Washington: Praeger Publishers, 1971), pp. 25-27; Eldredge, American Imagination, pp. 55-57; Jullian, The Symbolists. (Oxford, England: Phaidon Press, Ltd., 1977; Reprint ed. New York: E.P. Dutton, 1977; pp. 12-13.

²⁸"originated the images of drowned people and crumbling houses . . ." Jullian, The Symbolists, p. 16; Having been translated to French by Stephane Mallarme, Poe's darker tales inspired Charles Baudelaire's Les Fleurs du Mal. [Joseph Chiari, Symbolisme from Poe to Mallarme: The Growth of a Myth. (London: Spottiswoods, Ballantyne and Co., Ltd., 1956; Reprint ed. Folcraft, Pa.: The Folcraft Press, Inc., 1969), p. 65.]

²⁹Dannett Transcript, p. 47; Mary White Ovington, Portraits in Color, p. 220.

Mlle. New York was the most Francophile of the American literary periodicals. Its editor, James Gibbons Huneker, published the writings of Jules LeForgres, Remy de Gourmont, Paul Fort, Marcel Schwob and others in order to show the public that symbolist literature could be understood and enjoyed. In addition to editing Mlle. New York, James Huncker, a literature and music critic, wrote articles on Huysmans, Baudelaire, Maeterlinck (the "Belgian Shakespeare"), Wagner, and Rodin--all heroes of

Symbolist movement--for Harper's Bazar, and Scribners, magazines with wider readerships. (Eldredge, American Imagination, p. 23.)

³⁰"never separate from the fearful. . ." O'Donnell, "Meta Vaux Warrick," p. 1142.

³¹"hanging jaw . . ." Benjamin Brawley, "Meta Warrick Fuller," p. 25; O'Donnell, "Meta Vaux Warrick," p. 1142; Gestar and Gester, is an archaic form of the word Jester, a professional reciter or singer of romances.

³²Edward Lucie-Smith, Symbolist Art, (New York and Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1972), p. 61; "distinctly a step toward the 'yellow' in art." O'Donnell, "Meta Vaux Warrick," p. 1142; Elwin Green, "Profile: Sculptress Meta Warrick Fuller of Framingham," p. 29; O'Donnell, p. 1142; Pennsylvania Museum School of Industrial Art, Twentieth Annual Report of the Trustees, p. 34; The Rhine Maidens were a popular theme in art. American painter Albert Ryder's Sigfried and the Rhine Maidens (1888-91) symbolized man's uncertainty. (Johnson, American Art Nouveau, p. 221.)

³³Pennsylvania Museum School of the Industrial Arts, The Twenty-third Annual Report of the Trustees, p. 32; There were four diplomas given to students in the School of the Applied Arts; all of the recipients were women; Meta Vaux Warrick, Mabel Farr Higgins, Helen Liming Redles, and Edith Baldrey Snyder. (See The Twenty-third Annual Report, p. 2.)

³⁴Ibid., p. 32; The London Stage 1660-1800; a calendar of plays, entertainments and afterpieces, together with casts, box receipts and contemporary comment. Part IV ed. by George W. Stone, Jr. (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1860-1968), p. 1862; James A. Porter, Modern Negro Art, p. 77; Estelle Jussim, Slave to Beauty: The Eccentric Life and Controversial Career of F. Holland Day, Photographer, Publisher, Aesthete. (Boston: David R. Godine, Publisher, 1981), p. 127; "The sacred exhibition scheme . . ." Louise Imogene Guiney to Fred. Holland Day, n.d., September, 1898, from Five Islands, Maine. Quoted in Slave to Beauty, p. 196. "If the Saviour did not suffer . . ." Porter, Modern Negro Art, p. 77. Although Meta's declaration was grounded in her own strong religious convictions, the idea of suffering had always been important in art; one could not be an artist or be creative without suffering. Joseph Chiani suggests this concept in saying that:

"Suffering is always part of genius, for any passage from non-being to being implies suffering, yet suffering which may be transcended into the joy of vision and creation, even if it is the very source or essence of the poetry, as is the case with Leopardi. The joy of creation is the joy hinted at by Coleridge in Ode to Dejection. The essence of artistic creation can also be joy, as is the case with Mozart, or with the last cantos of Il Paradiso which try to convey the memory of light and the beautiful vision which is absolute joy." (Symbolisme From Poe to Mallarme, p. 13n)

³⁵Florence Bentley, "Meta Warrick, A Promising Sculptor," p. 117; Circular of the School of Applied Art, 1896-98, p. 18; Elwin Green, "Profile: Sculptress Meta Warrick Fuller of Framingham," p. 29.

³⁶O'Donnell, "Meta Vaux Warrick," p. 1141-42.

³⁷Bentley, "Meta Warrick, A Promising Sculptor," p. 117.

³⁸Dannett Transcript, pp. 7-8.

³⁹Ibid.; Margaret Holmes-Elizabeth Barker Interview, October 11, 1978; Dorothy Warrick Taylor Interview, March 3, 1979; "wanted to share my destiny. . . ." Dannett, Profiles of Negro Womanhood, II: 33.

⁴⁰Dannett Transcript, p. 7.

Chapter IV. The Sojourner

¹Dannett Transcript, p. 8.

²Meta Warrick Fuller to Sylvia G. L. Dannett, December 14, 1964. Meta Warrick Fuller Papers, Carnegie Library, Livingstone College, Salisbury, N.C.; Samella Lewis, Art: African American, p. 52.

³Louella B. Mendenhall [Laura McProud], American Students' Census Paris, 1903, (Paris: By the Author, 1903), p. 77.

⁴Dannett Transcript, p. 8.

⁵Meta Vaux Warrick to William Warrick, September 30, 1899. Meta Warrick Fuller Papers, Bourne, Massachusetts.

⁶Ibid.

⁷Ibid.

⁸Meta Vaux Warrick to William Warrick, October 12, 1899, Meta Warrick Fuller Papers, Bourne, Massachusetts.

⁹Ibid.

¹⁰Ibid.

¹¹Ibid.; Ellsworth Janifer, "Samuel Coleridge-Taylor in Washington," Phylon XXVII, 2 (Summer, 1967), 189.

¹²Dannett Transcript, p. 8; "Oh, Stand the Storm . . ." G. D. Pike, The Jubilee Singers and their Campaign for Twenty Thousand Dollars (Bos-

ton: Lee and Shepard, Publishers, 1873; Reprint ed. New York: AMS Press, 1974), p. 194; "Steal away . . ." Ibid., p. 187; For a sense of the emotional impact of the spirituals, see William Edward Burghardt Du Bois, "Of the Sorrow Songs" in The Souls of Black Folk: Essays and Sketches. (Chicago: A.C. McClurg and Company, 1903), pp. 250-264.

¹³Meta Vaux Warrick to William Warrick, October 12, 1899.

¹⁴Dannett Transcript, p. 8; Dannett, Profiles of Negro Womanhood, p. 33.

¹⁵Mendenhall, American Students' Census Paris, 1903, p. 77; Dannett Transcript, p. 9.

¹⁶Ibid.

¹⁷Ibid., p. 10.

¹⁸My description of Tanner is based on one by journalist William R. Lester, published in "Henry O. Tanner, Noted Philadelphian," The North American, (Philadelphia), August 30, 1908, and quoted in Walter Simon, "Henry O. Tanner," p. 88; "Well, I wouldn't insist on staying here . . ." Dannett Transcript, p. 10; "Inasmuch as my uncle asked him to look after me . . ." Ibid.

¹⁹Ibid.

²⁰Dannett Transcript, p. 13.

²¹C. Lewis Hind, Augustus Saint-Gaudens (New York: Press of Redfield Brothers, 1908), p. xxvii; "a nevrose, but with his nerves well under control." Ibid., p. xxvii; "sometimes he would arrive at the studio . . ." Ibid. Louise Hall Tharp, Saint-Gaudens and the Gilded Era (Boston and Toronto: Little, Brown and Company, 1969), pp. 274-276; "a colossal Sherman . . ." Ibid., p. 275.

²²Ibid., pp. 277, 284, 305.

²³Dannett Transcript, pp. 13-14; McGraw-Hill Dictionary of Art. s.v. "Adolphe Bouguereau"; E. Benezit, Dictionnaire critique et documentaire des Peintres, Sculpteurs, Dessinateurs et Graveurs de tous pays par un group d'ecrivains specialists franais et  trangers. s.v. "Louis Joseph Raphael Collin".

²⁴"Sculptress Honored by Women's Club on Art Day." Framingham (Massachusetts) News, Thursday, November 17, 1960; "it has made such a hole in my allowance . . ." Meta Vaux Warrick to Emma Warrick, May 17, 1900. Meta Warrick Fuller Papers, Bourne, Massachusetts; Mary White Ovington, Portraits in Color, pp. 217-218.

²⁵Dannett Transcript, pp. 11-12; Marcia M. Mathews, Henry Ossawa

Tanner: American Artist (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1969), pp. 93-97 passim.

Meta Warrick never identified Violet's husband except to say that he was the nephew of the poet Salsi. Although Salsi was probably well known at the turn-of-the-century, today he is an obscure poet.

²⁶Florence Bentley, "Meta Warrick," Voice of the Negro, p. 117; Meta Vaux Warrick to Emma Warrick, May 17, 1900; Ovington, Portraits in Color, p. 217; Dannett Transcript, p. 14;

Jean-Antonin Carles (1851-1919) studied at the Académie des Beaux Arts under François Jouffroy and Ernest Eugene Hiolle. He won the Grand Prix for Sculpture at the Exposition Universelle of 1889. Carles was also a Commander of the Legion of Honors. (Benezit, Dictionnaire critique et documentaire des Peintres, Sculpteurs, Dessinateurs et Graveurs, s.v. "Jean-Antonin Carles".)

²⁷"he scolded just a little here and there," Meta Vaux Warrick to the Warrick Family, May 17, 1900; "raised to one of the seven Heavens of delight," Ibid.; "fell in together to pick out my 'adorable' points . . ." Ibid.

Chapter V. The Paris Exposition of 1900

¹Meta Vaux Warrick to the Warrick Family, May 17, 1900, Warrick-Fuller Papers, Bourne, Massachusetts. Meta never identified Miss Crawford by her first name.; Philippe Jullian, The Triumph of Art Nouveau: Paris Exhibition 1900. Translated by Stephen Hardman (London: Phaidon Press Limited, 1974), p. 16; Arthur Gold and Robert Fizdale, Misia: The Life of Misia Sert (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1980), p. 79.

On May 17, Meta had written her mother that her finances were so strained that she could "scarcely get through." Thus, when, on the same day, she wrote to her family describing having spent several days touring Paris, she rationalized it to her mother by pointing out that Miss Crawford had paid for everything.

²Jullian, Triumph of Art Nouveau, pp. 121-122; Meta Vaux Warrick to her Family, May 17, 1900; "Sousa's Band Makes a Hit," The New York Times, May 13, 1900. Although Meta stated that the flag display accompanied "Hands Across the Sea," it is more likely that the song was "The Stars and Stripes Forever," as the Times reported.

³E. C. Peixoto, "Some Picturesque Sides of the Exposition, An Artist's Impressions," Scribner's Magazine, May, 1900, p. 517; Jullian, Triumph of Art Nouveau, p. 121.

⁴"bewildering and phenomenal maze of extended and distorted arms, legs, faces and torsos . . ." Homer Saint-Gaudens, ed. The Reminiscences of August Saint-Gaudens, 2 vols. (New York: The Century Company, 1913), II: 185; Ludovic Baschet, ed. Catalogue officiel illustre de l'Exposi-

tion decennale des beaux-arts de 1889 a 1900 (Paris: Imprimiers Lemerrier et cie, 1900; Reprint ed. World's Fair of 1900: Retrospective Exhibition of Fine Arts New York and London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1980), passim. Further citations shall read Official Decennale Catalogue.

⁵Ibid.

⁶Ruth Butler, ed. Rodin in Perspective (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1980), pp. 2-4; "The first time I saw Victor Hugo . . ." Ibid., p. 10; The analogy between Michelangelo and Rodin appeared first in Gustav Geffroy's review of the Monet/Rodin Exhibit of 1889. Ibid., p. 11; Bernard Champigneulle, Rodin (Paris: Editions Somogy, 1967; Trans. ed. J. Maxwell Brownjohn, London: Thames and Hudson, 1967; Reprint ed., New York and Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1980), pp. 206-207.

⁷"The United States Section was but a brilliant annex to the French Section." U.S. Commission to the Paris Exposition, 1900, Department of Fine Arts, Official Illustrated Catalogue, Fine Arts Exhibit, United States of America, Paris Exposition of 1900 (Boston: Noyes, Platt and Co., 1900), p. xv. Further citations shall read U.S. Fine Arts Exhibition Catalogue, 1900.; "to a great degree emancipated . . ." Ibid., pp. xv-xvi. The American art catalogue provided short biographies of each artist in addition to a list of their works; "Bigness of handling, the feeling of the flesh firm upon the bones . . ." Lorado Taft, The History of American Sculpture, 2nd rev. ed. (New York: MacMillan Company, 1924, p. 507. Taft provided detailed descriptions of MacMonnes' and Grafly's works.

⁸Tom Armstrong et al., 200 Years of American Sculpture (New York: Whitney Museum of Art and David R. Grodine, 1976), pp. 261-299 passim.; Taft, History of American Sculpture, 3rd ed. (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1930), pp. 437, 239, and 443; Fairmount Park Art Association, Sculpture of a City: Philadelphia's Treasures in Bronze and Stone (New York: Walker Publishing Co., 1974), p. 210; Rell G. Francis, Cyrus E. Dallin: Let Justice Be Done (Springville, Utah: The Springville Museum of Art and the Utah American Revolution Bicentennial Commission, 1976), p. 40; A. Mervyn Davis, Solon H. Borglum: "A Man Who Stands Alone" (Chester, Connecticut: Pequot Press, 1974), pp. 77-78.

⁹U.S. Fine Arts Exhibition Catalogue, 1900, passim.; Armstrong et al., 200 Years of American Sculpture, p. 316; Official Decennale Catalogue, passim.; Clara Erskine Clement, Women in the Fine Arts from the Seventh Century B.C. to the Twentieth Century A.D. (New York and Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, The Riverside Press, Cambridge, 1904; Rep. ed. New York: Hacker Art Books, 1974), p. 173; Benezit, Dictionnaire des Peintres, Sculpteurs, Dessinateurs et Graveurs, s.v. "Marie Giuliet Cazin"; Champigneulle, Rodin, pp. 157 and 167; Maurice Rheims, L'Art 1900 ou le Style Jules Verne (Arts Metiers Graphiques, 1965), p. 183.

¹⁰M.W.F. to her Family, May 17, 1900; Arthur Gold and Robert Fizdale, Misia: The Life of Misia Sert (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1980), p. 80.

¹¹Ovington, Portraits in Color, p. 218; Sylvia M. Jacobs, The African Nexus, Black American Perspectives on the European Partitioning of Africa, 1880-1920 (Westport, Connecticut and London, England: Greenwood Press), p. 56.

The Afro-Americans who attended the first Pan-African Conference, held in London, from July 23 through July 25, 1900 were: J.L. Love, professor, Washington, D.C.; W.E.B. DuBois; Henry R. Downing, ex-consul, Luanda, Angola; Thomas J. Calloway; Charles P. Lee, councillor, New York; Anna H. Jones, Missouri; Miss Barrier, Washington, D.C.; Mrs. Anna J. Cooper, Washington, D.C.; Miss Ada Harris, Indiana; B.W. Arnett, chaplain, Illinois; and Mr. and Mrs. Frederick J. Loudin, Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee. [Imanuel Geiss, The Pan-African Movement, a History of Pan-Africanism in America, Europe and Africa, Trans. Ann Keep (New York: Africana Publishing Co., a Division of Holmes & Meier Publishers, Inc., 1974), p. 182.]

Thomas Calloway, born in Cleveland, Tennessee in 1866, graduated from Fisk University in 1889. From 1895-1896, Calloway served as President of Alcorn Agricultural and Mechanical College, then in 1896, became Tuskegee Institute's northern agent. Two years later, Calloway was hired as the Managing Editor of the Washington Colored American, a leading Bookerite newspaper. Finally in 1899, he was appointed U.S. Special Commissioner to the Paris Universal Exposition. He was specifically in charge of the extensive Hampton Institute photographic exhibit which was designed to promote industrial education for Blacks. [Louis R. Harlan et al., ed., The Booker T. Washington Papers, 11 vols. (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1972-), III: 177.]

¹²William Edward Burghardt DuBois, "The American Negro at Paris," Review of Reviews XXII (November 1900), 575-577; Thomas J. Calloway, "The American Exhibit at the Paris Exposition," Annual Report of the Hampton Negro Conference, V (July, 1901), 74-78; The 150 Hampton Institute photographs were taken by Frances Benjamin Johnston, the only American woman invited to attend the Third International Photographic Congress, held in conjunction with the Exposition. [The Hampton Album, Forty-four Photographs by Frances B. Johnston from an Album of Hampton Institute, with an Introduction and a Note on the Photographer by Lincoln Kirston (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1966), p. 55]; "I never knew a negro to invent anything but lies," DuBois, "The American Negro at Paris," 576; In 1888 Miriam Benjamin patented a hotel gong and signal chair which was adopted by the U.S. House of Representatives for signalling pages. [Irene Diggs, Black Innovators (Chicago: Institute of Positive Education, 1975), p. 24]; The American Negro Exhibit, as a whole, won the Exposition Grand Prix. [DuBois, "American Negro at Paris," 575.]

¹³Ovington, Portraits in Color, p. 218.

¹⁴Dannett Transcript, p. 12.

¹⁵Calloway, "The American Exhibit," 77.

¹⁶M.W.F. to Freeman Murray, April 5, 1915, The Freeman H.M. Murray Papers, Moorland-Spingarn Research Center, Howard University, Washington, D.C.; Dannett Transcript, pp. 30-31; Meta Warrick Fuller, "Celebrities I Have Known", (essay), September 1, 1965.

¹⁷M.W.F. to Freeman Murray, April 4, 1915; Rayford W. Logan and Michael R. Winston, ed. Dictionary of American Negro Biography, s.v. "Hilyer, Andrew F[ranklin]," by Robert C. McGuire.

Andrew F. Hilyer was born a slave in Georgia on August 14, 1858. After emancipation, his mother took him to Nebraska. Following her death, Hilyer moved to Minneapolis, Minnesota, where the wealthy Gale and Pillsbury families befriended him. He attended the University of Minnesota from which he graduated in 1882. Then he moved to Washington, D.C., where he studied Law at Howard University. Hilyer received his LL.B. in 1884 and his LL.M in 1885. A year later, he married Mamie Elizabeth Nichols, a descendant of free blacks who had been residents of the Washington area for several generations.

Hilyer served as a class II clerk at the Treasury Department. According to his biographer, however, Hilyer's influence derived from his involvement in the real estate business and, in that connection, his invention of a hot water evaporator attachment for a hot air heating register and a hot air register. The biographer gives 1900 as the year of these inventions, but, according to a second source, their patent dates were August 26, 1890, and October 14, 1890 respectively. (See Diggs, Black Innovators, p. 9.)

Andrew Hilyer was energetic in his devotion to stimulating black economic development. He was one of the founders and the first president of Washington, D.C.'s Union League. Organized in 1892, the league hoped "to advance the moral material and financial interests of the colored people: to inaugurate and maintain a more fraternal feeling and a closer union among them; to foster such a spirit of cooperation that mechanical, industrial and professional enterprises may be established and maintained; and to collect and disseminate among the people such data and information as will best tend to promote these ends." The Union League of the District of Columbia published directories of black business people in 1892, 1894 and 1895 for this purpose. Hilyer's many years as a member of the Washington business community and his presidency of the Union League undoubtedly led to his appointment as agent for the U.S. Commission for the Paris Exposition in 1899.

¹⁸Mandell, Paris 1900, pp. 62-64; Paris Exposition universelle, 1900, Le Panorama, Exposition universelle, 1900 (Paris: L. Baschet, 1900), n.p.

¹⁹Mandell, Paris 1900, p. 65; Esslin, Martin, ed. Illustrated Encyclopaedia of World Theatre, with an Introduction by Martin Esslin. Trans. Estelle Schmid (London: Thames and Hudson, 1977), p. 123.

²⁰Paris Exposition universelle, Le Panorama, n.p.

²¹Mandell, Paris 1900, pp. 64-66.

²²Paul Morand, 1900 A.D., Trans. Mrs. Romilly Fedden (New York: William Farquhar Payson, 1931), pp. 96-97.

²³Paris Exposition universelle, Le Panorama, n.p.

²⁴Peixoto, "Some Picturesque Sides of the Exposition," p. 523; Gold and Fizdale, Misia, p. 79.

²⁵Morand, 1900 A.D., pp. 96-97; Paris Exposition universelle, Le Panorama, n.p.

²⁶M.W.F. to Freeman Murray, April 5, 1915.

²⁷Jean Lorrain quoted in Jullian, Triumph of Art Nouveau, p. 89; Morand, 1900 A.D., p. 89; Alastair Duncan, Art Nouveau Sculpture (New York: Rizzoli International Publications, Inc., 1978), passim.

²⁸Morand, 1900 A.D., p. 93-95.

²⁹Dannett Transcript, p. 48; William Emboden, Sarah Bernhardt, Introduction by Sir John Bielgud (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., Inc., 1975), p. 106; "more passionate than undecided . . ." Gyala Gaston Geller, Sarah Bernhardt, Divine Eccentric, Trans. E.S.G. Potter (New York: Frederick A. Stokes, 1933), p. 269; Gold and Fizdale, Misia, p. 81; It was also possible to listen to L'Aigon over a "theatrephone", one of the French technological exhibits on the Exposition's Champ de Mars. [Mandell, Paris 1900, pp. 67-68.]

³⁰Dannett Transcript, p. 31; "strumming the accompaniment, sang a little French song . . ." Ovington, Portraits in Color, p. 219.

³¹Jullian, Triumph of Art Nouveau, p. 200; "whose marvellous absurdity astounded one. . . ." Ibid.; Mandell, Paris 1900, p. 88.

³²Jullian, Triumph of Art Nouveau, p. 201.

Chapter VI. The Delicate Sculptor of Horrors

¹Mary White Ovington, Portraits in Color, p. 219; Everard M. Upjohn, Paul S. Wingart, and J.B. Mahler History of World Art 2nd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1958), p. 518.

²John Rewald, Post-Impressionism--From Van Gogh to Gauguin (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, Distributed by Simon and Schuster, 1958), pp. 272-273.

³Ibid., p. 273; Clive Holland, "Lady Art Students' Life in Paris,"

The Studio (1903), 228. On a visit to the Académie Colarossi, Holland noted that in one class 50 percent of the students were American and, apart from them, no two students were of the same nationality.

⁴Eugene Muntz, "The École des Beaux-Arts," The Architectural Record (January, 1901), 14; Octave Mirabeau quoted in Gold and Fizdale, Misia, p. 80. Mirabeau's comments were prompted by the efforts of two women writers to become members of the Société des Gens des Lettres in 1900.; Quartier Latin I,2 (July-December, 1896), p. 161; Rewald, Post-Impressionism, p. 273; Holland, "Lady Art Students' Life," 229.

⁵U.S. Commission to the Paris Exposition, 1900, U.S. Fine Arts Exhibit Catalogue, pp. 3-49 passim.; Champigneulle, Rodin, p. 165.

⁶Dannett Transcript, p. 14.

⁷Paula Modersohn-Becker to her family, January 11, 1900, Briefe und Tagenbuchblätter (Munchen: Kurt Wolff Verlag, 1921), p. 90; Holland, "Lady Art Students' Life," 228-230.

⁸Bentley, "Meta Warrick," p. 117; O'Donnell, "Meta Vaux Warrick," p. 1143; Ovington, Portraits in Color, p. 219; Dannett Transcript, p. 15.

⁹O'Donnell, "Meta Vaux Warrick," p. 1144; Benezit, Dictionnaire de Peintres, Sculpteurs, Dessinateurs et Graveurs, s.v. "Paula Modersohn-Becker"; op. cit. s.v. "Clara Rilke-Westhoff."

Modersohn-Becker was a painter of posed and figure compositions, still-lives, and self-portraits. While studying in Paris at Colarossi and the École des Beaux-Arts, she became inspired in the Gauguin circle and "Nabis" group. Later, as a precursor of Expressionism, Modersohn-Becker, along with Gauguin, Cezanne, Van Gogh, and Edvard Munch, came to be considered one of the founders of modern painting.

¹⁰O'Donnell, "Meta Vaux Warrick," pp. 1139-1145; Ovington, Portraits in Color, p. 221; "what about Nature? . . ." Descharnes and Chabrin, Auguste Rodin, p. 192.

¹¹Dannett Transcript, pp. 12-; "It is a tremendously great and strange sight . . ." Rainer Maria Rilke to Clara Westhoff Rilke, Tuesday, September 2, 1902, quoted in Hull, Selected Letters of Rainer Maria Rilke, 1902-1926 (London: Macmillan and Co., 1946), p. 114; Camille Mauclair, "Auguste Rodin, Son oeuvre, son milieu, son influence," Revue Universelle, August 17, 1901. Translated by John Anzalone in Rodin in Perspective ed. Ruth Butler (Englewood, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1980), p. 109; Michael Goodson, Rodin Lecture, Smith College Museum, November 20, 1980; Dannett, Profiles of Negro Womanhood II: 40; O'Donnell, "Meta Vaux Warrick," p. 1144.

¹²Bentley, "Meta Warrick," p. 118. A photograph of this sculpture appears in O'Donnell's article, over the caption, The Cloud. The confusion is understandable because Warrick's pieces often evolved through

many forms before she settled upon an ideal one. Moreover, she was sometimes apt to refer to a single work by several titles, as in the case of The Secret Sorrow, also known as Silent Sorrow and Man Eating Out His Heart. Similarly, the sculptor may have exhibited the early version of The Wretched under the French title, Desespoire.

¹³Alfred M. Freedman, M.D., Harold I. Kaplan, M.D. and Benjamin J. Sadock, M.D. eds. Comprehensive Textbook of Psychiatry/II 2 vols. 2nd ed. (Baltimore: The Williams and Wilkins Co., 1975) I: 56.

¹⁴Brawley, "Meta Warrick Fuller," 28; "an exposition of horrors," O'Donnell, "Meta Vaux Warrick," p. 1144.

¹⁵Freedman, Kaplan, and Sadock, eds., Comprehensive Textbook of Psychiatry/II, I: 56-57; James Strachey, ed., The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud 24 vols. (London: Hogarth Press, 1953-1959, vol. IV: The Interpretation of Dreams, pp. 257-264.

¹⁶"Le Centenaire de Victor Hugo, La Cereemonie du Pantheon," Le Temps (Paris), 27 Fevrier, 1902, pp. 1-3; Victor Hugo, The Man Who Laughs (1869) Two Volumes in One, with Illustrations (New York: University Press Company, 1946), pp. 295-296.

¹⁷"laugh which he had not placed on his brown. . . ." Ibid., p. 297; Joseph Boskin, "Sambo: The National Jester in the Popular Culture," in The Great Fear: Race in the Mind of America edited by Gary Nash and Richard Weiss (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1970), p. 71.

¹⁸Hugo, The Man Who Laughs, p. 297; Paul Laurence Dunbar, The Complete Poems of Paul Laurence Dunbar. (New York: Dodd, Mead and Co., 1915), p. 71.

¹⁹Hugo, The Man Who Laughs, p. 298.

²⁰Dunbar, The Complete Poems of Paul Laurence Dunbar, p. 71; Hugo, The Man Who Laughs, pp. 309-310.

Black professor W.S. Scarborough seemed to echo Gwynplaine's fiery words in a warning to white Americans. In The Christian Recorder dated June 18, 1891 he had written:

It is not a wise policy to continue alienating the affections of the Negro, especially when there is no possibility of removing him from the country. As whites have all to lose and the Negro but little, wisdom should dictate a conciliatory policy at least. . . . They [Negroes] are full of hope and courage, and though desperate, they are not as yet dangerous. . . . Our American white citizens may defer a solution by all sorts of schemes and devices, but the time will come whey they--North and South--will have to confront the inevitable, and grant the Negro the

rights that belong to him or suffer the consequences.
 [Quoted in Herbert Aptheker, ed. A Documentary History of the Negro People in the United States. II: The Reconstruction Era to 1910 (New York: The Citadel Press, 1968), p. 752.]

²¹Meta Warrick Fuller to Freeman Murray, April 5, 1915, The Freeman Murray Papers.

²²"Recent Art at 4 Rue de Chevreuse," New York Herald (European Edition - Paris), February 23, 1902, sec. 2, p. 1; Benjamin Brawley, The Negro Genius (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1937), p. 187.

²³O'Donnell, "Meta Vaux Warrick," p. 1144.

²⁴Ibid., pp. 1144-1145; Dalou's Silene was pictured, for example, in the May, 1902 issue of Les Arts; Camille Mauclair, "Auguste Rodin," p. 112.

²⁵O'Donnell, "Meta Vaux Warrick," p. 1145; Oeuvres de Mlle Meta Warrick, Sculpteur, Exposee a L'Art Nouveau Bing, 22 Rue de Provence, 22, Paris, Juin 1902. This work contains the only reference to the piece Corpse-Candles. It is listed as no. 15, Feux Follets.; Cora Linn Daniels and Prof. C.M. Stevans, Encyclopaedia of Superstitions, Folklore and the Occult Sciences of the World 3 vols. (Chicago and Milwaukee: J.H. Yewdale and Sons, Co., 1903; Reprint ed. Detroit: Gale Research Company, 1971), I: 171.

Tales of corpse-candle sightings were still very popular at the turn-of-the-century. Daniels and Stevans recorded one story, still being told on the Isle of Man, concerning Captain Leathes, the chief magistrate of Belfast who, in 1690, survived a shipwreck. When his rescuers brought him ashore, several people told him that thirteen of his crewmen had drowned; that they knew because they had seen their corpse-candles the night before, processing to the graveyard. When a count of the survivors was taken, he had in fact lost thirteen men.

According to various superstitions surrounding the phenomenon, one could tell the age and gender of a person whose death was eminent by the flame's color: a man's light was red, a woman's white, and a child's was a small blue one. Furthermore, those who encountered such a flame were supposedly in no danger as long as they made no attempt to touch it. [E[dwin] and M.A. Radford, Encyclopaedia of Superstitions (London, England: Hutchinson and Co., Publishers, Ltd., 1948; Revised ed. Christina Hole, 1961), p. 114.]; In various sources, corpse-candle was also referred to as Dead-man's Light, Fetch-Light, and Friar's Lantern.

²⁶O'Donnell, "Meta Vaux Warrick," p. 1145; Brawley, "Meta Warrick Fuller," 29; "my work is of the soul rather than the figure . . ."
 O'Donnell, "Meta Vaux Warrick," p. 1145.

²⁷Eduoard Gerard, Introduction to Oeuvres de Mlle Meta Warrick, Sculpteur, pp. iii-v.

²⁸Ibid., p. vi; O'Donnell, "Meta Vaux Warrick," p. 1145.

²⁹Ibid.; Mandell, Paris 1900, p. 75.

³⁰Meta Warrick Fuller, "Celebrities I have Known," September 1, 1965, Meta Warrick Fuller Papers, Bourne, Massachusetts.

³¹Gerard, Introduction to Oeuvres de Mlle Meta Warrick, Sculpteur, pp. v-vi.

³²O'Donnell, "Meta Vaux Warrick," p. 1145; It is possible that Rodin introduced Meta Warrick to his close friend Loie Fuller. Fuller, who was an art collector, presented an exhibit of her personal collection of Rodin's sculpture at the National Arts Club of New York in 1903. In 1917 she donated Warrick's Dancing Girl to the Cleveland Museum of Art. (Descharnes and Chabrun, Auguste Rodin, p. 246; "A Sculptor," Crisis Magazine, January 1918, p. 133.)

³³Dannett Transcript, p. 15; "almost frightful in its realism . . ." Bentley, "Meta Warrick," p. 118.

The Société National des Beaux-Arts Salon took place in April, 1903. Its catalogue listed Warrick's Impenitent Thief as no. 258 in the sculpture section. [Catalogue Des Oeuvres de Peinture, Sculpture, Dessin, Gravure, Architecture et Objet d'Art. Exposée au Grand Palais. Le 16 Avril, 1903. Evreux, p. 307.]

³⁴"The Youngest and Best Sculptress of the Race wins Fame and Honor in the Art Centres of Paris--A Product of This City" The Philadelphia Tribune, October 25, 1902.

Chapter VII. Crossroads

¹Holmes-Barker Interview, October 11, 1978, Osterville, Massachusetts.

²Dannett Transcript, pp. 15-16.

³Brawley, "Meta Warrick Fuller," 26; Newspaper Clipping, n.d. in The Daniel Murray Papers, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Microfilm Edition, Reel 8.

⁴Dannett Transcript, p. 27; O'Donnell, "Meta Vaux Warrick," p. 1145; Peter J. Parker, Chief of Manuscripts, Historical Society of Pennsylvania to the Author, July 27, 1979; Wolf, Philadelphia: Portrait of an American City, p. 279; Pennell and Pennell, Our Philadelphia, pp. 351, 352 and 401; Matriculation Card, Alumni Records, Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts.

⁵Dannett Transcript, p. 15; Brawley, The Negro Genius, p. 185; O'Donnell, "Meta Vaux Warrick," p. 1145; Brawley, "Meta Warrick Fuller," 26.

⁶Huggins, Harlem Renaissance, pp. 280-282.

⁷Brawley, "Meta Warrick Fuller," 26. The title William Thomas appeared in a listing of sculpture that Meta Warrick warehoused in 1909.

⁸Lucy Brown Franklin, "The Negro Exhibition of the Jamestown Ter-Centennial Exposition of 1907," Negro History Bulletin XXXVIII (June-July, 1975), 408-410; "to show at this Exposition what the race . . . has done . . ." Ibid., 408; "place itself properly upon record . . ." Ibid.; Dannett Transcript, pp. 16-17; "Treble Clef at Work," The Colored American (Washington, D.C.), February 22, 1902, p. 7. Blanche Warrick Cardozo was a member of the Treble Clef Club, an integrated, Washington, Women's, music society which Mamie Hilyer founded.

⁹The Jamestown Imposition," Voice of the Negro, (October, 1907), p. 344. The idea that the twenty blacks who arrives at Jamestown in 1619 were sold into slavery is a misconception. Like many whites who came to America, they became indentured servants. Cf. Winthrop D. Jordan, White over Black: American Attitudes Toward the Negro 1550-1812 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1968; Baltimore, Maryland: Penguin Books, 1969), pp. 73-75; William Hayes Ward, "A Race Exhibition," The Independent, November 14, 1907, p. 1168; Helen A. Tucker, "The Negro Building and Exhibit at the Jamestown Exposition," Charities and The Commons XVIII (September 21, 1907), 724; Franklin, "The Negro Exhibition of the Jamestown Ter-Centennial Exposition of 1907," 409.

¹⁰Ibid.; Dannett Transcript, p. 16; The Guardian (Boston, Massachusetts), December 18, 1906; Times Dispatch (Richmond, Virginia), November 12, 1907; White House Appointment Book, January 1-December 30, 1905 Theodore Roosevelt Papers, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. The Theodore Roosevelt White House Appointment Book of 1905 does not reveal a visit from members of the N.D.E.C. as a group or as individuals. However, Giles Jackson refers to the visit during a speech in Richmond on November 11, 1907. Furthermore, Roosevelt returned the call by visiting N.D.E.C. headquarters in Richmond in October, 1905.

¹¹Patricia Carter Ives, "Giles Beecher Jackson, Director-General of the Negro Development and Exposition Company of the United States for the Jamestown Tercentennial Exposition of 1907," Negro History Bulletin, XXXVIII (December, 1975), 480. Giles Jackson was born a slave in Goochland County, Virginia c. 1852. During the Civil War, he served as Robert E. Lee's orderly, tending the horses and caring for the General's uniforms. After freedom, one of the people for whom he worked was Richmond attorney W.H. Beveridge. Beveridge encouraged Jackson to "read the law" under his tutelage. As a young lawyer during the Reconstruction period, Jackson had wanted to serve on the Richmond City Council. Consequently, he had petitioned General Grant to lay aside a section of the city where blacks resided as a political ward. Grant acceded to the attorney's request and called the area "Jackson's Ward." In 1897 President William McKinley had commissioned Jackson an honorary colonel and had given him command of a black cavalry regiment that was to take part in his inaugu-

ration. Theodore Roosevelt had renewed the commission when he had become President. More important, Jackson eventually became the first black lawyer without a university degree to practice before the Virginia Supreme Court of Appeals.

¹²Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, Catalogue of the 101st Annual Exhibition, January 22 to March 3, 1906. Second Edition (Philadelphia, 1906), p. 83. Portrait from Mirrors was no. 1017 in the exhibition.

¹³"When in Boston any fellow citizen paints a picture or writes a book . . ." quoted in Van Wyck Brooks, The Confident Years: 1885-1915 (New York: E.P. Dutton, 1952), p. 24n.

¹⁴Daniel Robbins, "Statue to Sculpture: From the Nineties to the Thirties," in Armstrong et al. 200 Years of American Sculpture, pp. 135-138 passim.

The experiences of Utah-born sculptor Mahonri M. Young were similar to those of Meta Warrick. Young had studied at the Academie Colarossi also and had specialized in small bronzes. Like Warrick, the currents of social unrest that Europe was undergoing influenced Young deeply. But, while Meta Warrick became a follower of Auguste Rodin and expressed her social consciousness in works such as The Wretched, Mahonri Young was attracted to Belgian sculptor Constantin-Emile Meunier, one of Rodin's chief rivals. Meunier exhibited a great sympathy for the despair of working-class life in sculpture such as The Glassblower, Man with a Hammer, The Sower, and Firedamp. Young also depicted laborers. Bovet Arthur, created in 1904, was among his first. Once Young came back to the United States, however, he too discovered that there was no market for this type of sculpture.

Almost ten years later, Abastinia St. Leger Eberle, a white, New York sculptor, had the same difficulty in marketing her works. Her artistic style was similar to Meta's; and she too used sculpture to make social observations. The difference was that her sculpture was based on life on New York's Lower East Side. Among Eberle's best works were Roller Skating (pre-1909) and Windy Doorstep, a thirteen-and-a-half-inch, bronze of a housewife sweeping, which won her a National Academy of Design Award in 1910. Conversely, The White Slave, a commentary on adolescent prostitution, caused a furor when the artist exhibited it in the 1913 Armory Show. A few of Eberle's pieces, such as Avenue A (Dance of the Ghetto Children), created in 1914, are found in small museums and libraries; but apart from her supporters in New York Socialist circles, her work attracted no private patronage.

¹⁵Dannett Transcript, p. 20; Franklin, "The Negro Exhibition of the Jamestown Ter-Centennial Exposition of 1907," 410.

¹⁶Dannett Transcript, p. 18; Interview with Solomon C. Fuller, Jr., October 12, 1978. Meta told her son that New Bedford was a place where "parents sent their children to meet the right mate," in recalling how she had met his father.

¹⁷Dannett Transcript, p. 19; Adelaide Hill Cromwell, "The Negro Upper Class in Boston," Ph.D Dissertation (Radcliffe College, 1952), pp. 94-95; Diggs, Black Innovators, p. 9.

¹⁸Dictionary of American Negro Biography, s.v. "Grimké, Archibald H[enry]," by Clarence G. Contee, Sr.

¹⁹Dannett Transcript, p. 18; Warrick-Fuller Genealogy; Robert C. Hayden and Jacqueline Harris, Nine Black American Doctors (Reading, Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley Publishing Co., Inc., 1976), pp. 16-21.

Solomon Fuller had been born in Monrovia, Liberia in 1872. His parents and grandparents had emigrated there in the early 19th century, as part of the American movement to "repatriate" blacks in West Africa. Solomon's paternal grandparents had been natives of Virginia. His grandfather, John Lewis Fuller, was born a slave in Petersburg. John Fuller was a skilled boot- and shoemaker; and his owner profited from his labor to the extent that he allowed him to keep part of his earnings. With the money he saved, Fuller was able to purchase not only his own freedom, but the indenture contract of a white servant named Nancy, who later became his wife.

Solomon Fuller's father, Solomon Carter, Sr., was one of John and Nancy's eight children. When they decided to immigrate to Liberia in 1852, he was one of the five that they took with them. The remaining three, of course, had established lives independent of the family. For instance, the same year that John and Nancy Fuller left the United States for Africa, their son Henry Stewart Fuller sailed to Japan with Admiral Matthew Perry. On the whole, settling on Monrovia, the Liberian capital, was the beginning of a new life for John and Nancy Fuller.

When Solomon Carter Fuller, Sr., came of age, he married Anna Ursula James. Anna's parents were South Carolinians. Her father, Benjamin Van Ranseler James, was a doctor. Her mother, Margaret Stewart James, was a physician as well. The Jameses had come to Liberia in 1829 and had practiced medicine there as missionaries of the Presbyterian Church's Southern Division.

By the time Solomon, Jr., was born, his parents were well-to-do plantation owners with servants befitting their station. Moreover, Solomon's father was twice an official of the Liberian government: first as a state senator, then as Sheriff of Monrovia County.

²⁰Dannett Transcript, pp. 18-19.

²¹Hayden and Harris, Nine Black American Doctors, pp. 19-20.

²²Dannett Transcript, p. 19; Hayden and Harris, Nine Black American Doctors, pp. 23-25; W. Montague Cobb, M.D., "Solomon Carter Fuller, 1872-1953," Journal of the National Medical Association XL, 5 (September, 1954), 370. Dr. Emile Kraepelin devised a psychopathology system of classification upon which all subsequent systems of classification have been based.

²³Hayden and Harris, Nine Black American Doctors, pp. 19-20 and 24.

²⁴"out from under that influence . . ." Ibid., p. 20; Ibid., p. 24; Interview with Dorothy Warrick, March 3, 1979, Germantown, Pennsylvania.

²⁵Dannett Transcript, p. 24.

Chapter VIII. A Turnabout

¹Matriculation Card, Alumni Records, Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts; Simpson, "The Sculpture of Charles Grafly," p. 74; Philadelphia Museum of Art, Philadelphia, Three Centuries of America Art, Bicentennial Exhibition, April 11-October 10, 1976 (Philadelphia, 1976), p. 329; Simpson, "The Sculpture of Charles Grafly," p. 25; Ibid., p. 98.

²Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, Circular of [the] Committee on Instruction, Schools of the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, 1906-1907 (Philadelphia, 1906), p. 5. This source will henceforth be referred to as Committee on Instruction Circular; Simpson, "The Sculpture of Charles Grafly," p. 59-64; "consisting of a front view . . ." Ibid., p. 64; "the relative distance from the chin to the temple . . ." Ibid.; Ibid., pp. 78 and 80.

³Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, Committee on Instruction Circular, p. 5; Simpson, "The Sculpture of Charles Grafly," pp. 99-102; "that's not worth criticizing, is it." Ibid., p. 100.

⁴O'Donnell, "Meta Vaux Warrick," p. 1140; Dictionary of American Negro Biography, s.v. "Dunbar, Paul Laurence," by Arthur P. Davis; "The black hand wields the pen in American literature . . ." Boston Transcript, March 14, 1906.

⁵Franklin, "The Negro Exhibition," 411; Meta Vaux Warrick to W.E.B. DuBois, January 29, 1907, W.E.B. DuBois Collection, University of Massachusetts, Amherst; Evening Post (New York), March 16, 1907.

⁶Giles B. Jackson and D. Webster Davis, The Industrial History of the Negro Race in the United States (Richmond, Virginia: The Virginia Press, 1908), p. 188; Evening Post (New York), March 16, 1907; "Hampton Incidents, April 15-May 15," Southern Workman VI (June, 1907), 354; U.S. Congress, Senate. Final Report of the Jamestown Ter-Centennial Commission. Sen. Doc. 735 60th Cong. 2nd Session, 1909, p. 144. Meta Warrick's appropriation was the largest of eight for special features at the Negro Exhibition. The second was \$438.93 for Emergency Hospital supplies and maintenance; Ovington, Portraits in Color, p. 222; Dannett Transcript, p. 17. Meta recalled that fifteen hundred dollars was "a lot of money in those days."

⁷A short biography of Meta Warrick appeared in the New Age (Portland, Oregon), March 30, 1907; ". . . an honor to her sex and an honor to her race." New York Tribune, March 31, 1907.

⁸Dannett Transcript, p. 16; Worcester Sunday Telegram and Gazette, May 18, 1958, Magazine Section, p. 29; "really artistic work," O'Donnell, "Meta Vaux Warrick," p. 1140.

⁹Franklin, "The Negro Exhibition," 412.

¹⁰Ibid., 411; Boston Guardian, December 18, 1906; "from the standpoint of beauty . . ." Ibid.

¹¹Ibid.; Helen A. Tucker, "The Negro Building and the Exhibit at the Jamestown Exposition," Charities and The Commons XVIII (September 21, 1907), 723.

¹²Ibid.

¹³"One of the most beautiful upon the Exposition grounds," Jamestown Official Photographic Corporation, The Jamestown Exposition Beautifully Illustrated (New York: Isaac H. Blanchard Co., 1907), n.p.; Franklin, "The Negro Exhibit," 411; Jackson and Davis, Industrial History of the Negro Race, p. 187; Freeman H. M. Murray, Emancipation and the Freed in American Sculpture (Published by the Author, 1733 7th St., N.W., Washington, D.C., 1916), p. 183. Murray gives the actual number of tableaux as fourteen; The Pilot, November 10, 1907; Jackson and Davis, Industrial History of the Negro Race, p. 234.

¹⁴Ibid., pp. 214, 234, and 348-49; Ward, "A Race Exhibition," p. 1172; Pilot (Norfolk, VA.), March 16, 1907. This article states that Meta had "other evidences of her talent in the building," but neither this nor any other source mentions what they were.

¹⁵Ibid.; Tribune (New York), March 31, 1907.

¹⁶"Historic Tableaux at the Jamestown Exposition," Southern Workman VI (October, 1907), 516-517; Photographs of the Warrick Tableaux head fourteen chapters in Jackson and Davis, Industrial History of the Negro Race.

¹⁷U.S. Congress, Final Report of the Jamestown Ter-Centennial Committee, p. 149; "Historical Tableaux at the Jamestown Exposition," 517.

¹⁸Dictionary of American Negro Biography, s.v. "Jones, Absolom," by J. Carlton Hayden.

¹⁹"Cast down your buckets among my people . . ." Booker T. Washington, Up From Slavery (New York: Doubleday, Page and Co., 1901), p. 221.

²⁰"Historic Tableaux at the Jamestown Exposition," 517.

²¹Pilot (Norfolk, Va.), March 16, 1907.

²²"Historic Tableaux at the Jamestown Exposition," 517.

²³"manliness, self-reliance, modest intelligence and ease of manner," Ibid.

²⁴Ibid.

²⁵Jackson and Davis, Industrial History of the Negro Race, p. 268.

²⁶Dannett Transcript, p. 17; Jackson and Davis, Industrial History of the Negro Race, p. 273; "Woman of Mystery to Return to Coast," Newspaper Clipping, William Geddes Scrapbook, I, U.S. Treasury Department Records, National Archives, Washington, D.C. Mrs. Nama Yoka Curtis was born in San Francisco, of Negro and Indian parentage. The wife of Dr. A.C. Curtis of Washington, D.C., one of the physicians in charge of the Negro Reservation's Emergency Hospital, Curtis was a nurse. She was an intimate of Clara Barton, founder of the American Red Cross. She had been an army nurse in Cuba during the Spanish-American War, and had done relief work in Galveston, Texas after the flood. In 1906 Secretary of War William Howard Taft had sent her to aid San Francisco earthquake victims, on the recommendation of Surgeon-General O'Reilley.

²⁷Dannett Transcript, p. 17.

²⁸Jackson and Davis, Industrial History of the Negro Race, p. 277; "Those who have argued from the outset . . ." quoted in Franklin, "The Negro Exhibition," 412.

²⁹Jackson and Davis, Industrial History of the Negro Race, p. 265; Ward, "A Race Exhibition," p. 1171; "deserved the approval of all good citizens . . ." Jackson and Davis, Industrial History of the Negro Race, p. 261.

³⁰Interview with Solomon C. Fuller, Jr., October 12, 1978.

³¹Dannett Transcript, p. 17; "The Jamestown Imposition," Voice of the Negro IV(October, 1907), 344. By Fall, some black newspapers and journals were advising black vacationers to avoid the Jamestown Exposition because of the segregation practiced there.

³²Franklin, "The Negro Exhibition," 413.

³³"I told them that God drew the line . . ." Time Dispatch (Richmond, Va.), November 12, 1907; "We would not think of bringing this exhibition to Richmond . . ." Richmond Leader, November 12, 1907; "from common-sense to pathos and humour . . ." Ibid.

³⁴"The Jamestown Imposition," 343. This vitriolic attack could only have come from the pen of radical editor Jesse Max Barber. A year before he wrote this editorial, Barber had been forced to move the Voice from Atlanta, Georgia, where it had been a target of the race riot, to Chicago. The editor, himself, was outspoken as a critic of racial injustice and as an advocate of black political action. In 1905, he had been among the twenty-nine individuals who had responded to W.E.B. Du Bois' call to

establish the Niagara Movement; and, in 1906, he had been one of the sponsors of the Georgia Equal Rights Convention. (Dictionary of American Negro Biography, s.v. "Barber, J[esse] Max," by Penelope L. Bullock.)

³⁵Meta W. Fuller to Freeman Murray, April 5, 1915. The Freeman Murray Papers, Moorland-Springarn Research Center, Howard University, Washington, D.C.

Chapter IX. A Phoenix from the Ashes

¹U.S. Congress. Senate, Final Report of the Jamestown Ter-Centennial Commission, p. 150; Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, Catalogue of the 103rd Annual Exhibition, January 20, to February 29, 1908. Second Edition (Philadelphia, 1908), p. 62; Meta Warrick probably completed the Dunbar bust before her marriage in 1908, but there is no evidence to that effect.

²Meta Vaux Warrick to W.E.B. Du Bois, November 15, 1908, W.E.B. Du Bois Collection, University of Massachusetts, Amherst; Meta Vaux Warrick to Freeman Murray, April 5, 1915, The Freeman H.M. Murray Papers, Moorland-Springarn Research Center, Howard University, Washington, D.C.

³Interview with Solomon C. Fuller, Jr., November 29, 1976, Bourne, Massachusetts.

⁴Ibid.; Dannett Transcript, pp. 37-38; Interview with Dorothy Larned and Vera Hemmenway, former residents of Warren Road, November 29, 1978; Resident and Business Directory of Framingham, Massachusetts, 1911, containing a complete resident, street, and business directory, town officers, schools, societies, churches, post offices, tax rates and graduations, census figures for 1910 of the town, county and state. (South Framingham, Mass.: Lakeview Press, 1911), passim. Thomas Chubb resided at 28 Warren Road.

⁵Dannett Transcript, pp. 37-38.

⁶Ibid., p. 37; Meta Vaux Warrick to W.E.B. Du Bois, November 15, 1908.

⁷Dannett Transcript, pp. 25-27; Interview with Dorothy Warrick Taylor, March 3, 1979, Germantown, Pennsylvania.

⁸Dannett Transcript, pp. 25-26; Interview with Solomon C. Fuller, Jr., October 12, 1978, Bourne, Massachusetts. Fred Hemmings, a black scientist, was head chemist at the Boston Naval Shipyard.

⁹Dannett Transcript, p. 25; Meta Warrick Fuller to Freeman Murray, April 5, 1915, The Freeman Murray Papers.

¹⁰Dannett Transcript, p. 26.

¹¹Ibid.; Worcester Sunday Telegram and Gazette, May 18, 1958.

¹²Interview with James Patterson, a resident of Warren Road, November 18, 1978, Framingham, Massachusetts; Framingham City Directory, 1911. Charles E. and T.F. O'Neill, owners of the Standard Coal Company, agreed to accept the Fullers as customers; Dannett Transcript, pp. 38-38; Interview with Dorothy Larned and Vera Hemmenway, November 29, 1978. Dorothy Larned's mother, Charlotte Larned, and Elizabeth Boardman Dennison were among the first women to call upon Meta Fuller.

¹³Interview with Rev. Mason R. Wilson, rector, St. Andrew's Episcopal Church, November 3, 1978, Framingham, Massachusetts. Rev. Wilson became the minister of St. Andrew's during the early 1960s.

¹⁴Hayden and Harris, Nine Black American Doctors, p. 22; Dorothy Ross, G. Stanley Hall: The Psychologist as Prophet. (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1972), pp. 386 and 388. The Clark University Conference on Child Research and Welfare was sponsored by university president G. Stanley Hall, in part, to revive interest in the child study movement. Held the week of September 5, it marked Sigmund Freud's first visit to the United States; Elizabeth Dunbar to Meta Warrick Fuller, May 9, 1909, Meta Fuller Papers, Bourne, Massachusetts; Ovington, Portraits in Color, p. 223; Dannett Transcript, p. 21.

¹⁵Dannett Transcript, p. 24; Brawley, "Meta Warrick Fuller," pp. 26-27. Among the surviving sculpture were several finished pieces: Medusa and Procession of the Arts and Crafts, from Meta's Museum School days, The Wretched, Carrying the Dead Body, and Sylvia, done in Paris, William Still, and Study in Expression. A few studies also escaped destruction: An Old Woman, The School Boy, The Comedian (George W. Walker), The Student, The Artist, and Mulatto Child; Elizabeth Dunbar to Meta Warrick Fuller, November 22, 1910, Meta Fuller Papers, Bourne, Massachusetts.

¹⁶Ibid.

¹⁷Dannett Transcript, p. 21; Interview with Margaret Cardozo Holmes and Elizabeth Cardozo Barker, October 11, 1978.

¹⁸"If you work only twenty minutes a day. . ." Boston Herald, June 10, 1966; Dannett Transcript, pp. 6-7; Dictionary of American Negro Biography, s.v. "Cuney-Hare, Maud," by Rayford Logan.

Meta Fuller's soul-mate, Maud Cuney-Hare was born in Galveston, Texas in 1874, the daughter of black politician Norris Wright Cuney and Adelina (Dowdy) Cuney. She received her music education at the New England Conservatory of Music in Boston, and with such private teachers as Emil Ludwig, a student of Rubinstein, and Edwin Klare, a student of Liszt. After a number of years in teaching, first as Director of the Deaf, Dumb, and Blind Institute of Texas, then at Prairie View State

College, a black school in Prairie View, Texas, she returned to Boston in 1906 and married William P. Hare, a member of an old and well-known black family.

As a concert pianist, Maud Cuney-Hare appeared often with noted, black baritone, William Howard Richardson. One of their most acclaimed performances was with the quartette of the Boston Symphony, with Arthur Fiedler on the viola.

For a number of years, Cuney-Hare was the musical editor of the Crisis Magazine. Her lasting literary contribution, however, was Negro Musicians and Their Music. The volume consisted of fifteen chapters, an Appendix entitled, "African Musical Instruments," and a section on "Negro Folk Songs." Its bibliography and its numerous, rare photographs of the Fisk Jubilee Singers, Will Marion Cook, Robert Cole and Rosamund Johnson, Flora Batson, Abbie Mitchell, the Coleridge-Taylor Society of Washington, Harriet Gibbs Marshall, E. Azalia Hackley, and Samuel Coleridge-Taylor, makes her work an invaluable primary source for music scholars.

Cuney-Hare did not limit herself to the field of music. She established the Musical Art Studio in Boston and, from there, promoted a black "Little Theatre" movement. One of the plays she produced was her own "Antar, Negro Poet of Arabia." She also compiled an anthology of poetry, The Message of the Trees, which included a forward by William Stanley Braithwaite.

¹⁹Dannett Transcript, p. 30; Ovington, Portraits in Color, p. 223; Crisis, VI (October, 1913), n.p. A formal announcement of the Exposition appeared inside the magazine's front cover; "A Pageant of Negro History," (Typescript), W.E.B. Du Bois Collection, University of Massachusetts Archives, Amherst, Massachusetts. This was an early version of Du Bois' "The Star of Ethiopia," which was performed in 1915; Meta Warrick Fuller to Freeman Murray, January 9, 1915, Freeman H.M. Murray Papers.

²⁰Meta Warrick Fuller to Freeman Murray, January 9-13, 1915, Freeman Murray Papers.

²¹Meta Warrick Fuller to Freeman Murray, January 26, 1915; Dannett Transcript, p. 12. Meta's illness could have been the miscarriage to which she referred in the transcript; Murray, Emancipation and the Freed in American Sculpture, p. 5. Murray quotes from his correspondence with the sculptor.

²²Ibid., p. 57.

²³Meta Warrick Fuller to Freeman Murray, March 29, 1915. Meta was still smarting from her husband's "caricature" remark a year later, when she saw a picture in the November, 1914 issue of Crisis that she considered proof of her point. In March, 1915, she sent the photograph of Senegalese soldiers who seemed to be standing in the same manner as her Emancipation male to Murray, saying that she did "not think there is the slightest trace of caraciture in any of these men."

²⁴Meta Warrick Fuller to Freeman Murray, January 9-13, 1915.

²⁵Meta Warrick Fuller to Freeman Murray, February 25, 1915; Meta Warrick to Freeman Murray, April 5, 1915.

²⁶Murray, Emancipation and the Freed, p. 62.

²⁷Ibid., p. 65.

²⁸Meta Fuller quoted in Emancipation and the Freed, pp. 61-62.

²⁹Dannett Transcript, p. 31.

Chapter X. "Hanging Fire"

¹Brawley, "Meta Warrick Fuller," 27; Dannett Transcript, p. 32.

²William H. Ferris, The African Abroad or Evolution in Western Civilization, Tracing His Development Under Caucasian Milieu (1913; Reprint ed. New York and London: Johnson Reprint Co., 1968), pp. 969-970; J[oe]l A[ugustus] Rogers, World's Great Men of Color 2 Vols. Edited with an introduction, commentary, and new bibliography by John Henrik Clarke. (New York: MacMillan and Co., 1972), I: 378; Janifer, "Samuel Coleridge-Taylor in Washington," 185-187; The Colored American (Washington, D.C.), February 22, 1902, p. 7.

Coleridge-Taylor's association with the American, black, intellectual community had been significant. In 1897 he had made his first appearance before an English audience with Paul Laurence Dunbar at London's Salle Erhard, where they gave a joint recital. Two years later, the composer, like artist Meta Fuller, had been introduced to American Negro spirituals by Frederick Loudin and the Fisk Jubilee Chorus, during the choir's tour of Britain. Coleridge-Taylor's encounter with Loudin and the Jubilee singers was important: although he wrote pieces that were similar to those of Dvorak, Grieg, and Tchaikovsky, the widespread appeal of many of his compositions was based upon the spontaneity that his appreciation of black American folk music gave them.

Conversely, black Americans offered Coleridge-Taylor's music as evidence that black composers could write good classical music. Furthermore, they considered his concert visits to the United States in 1903, in 1906, and in 1910 inspirations for their young composers. Coleridge-Taylor came to America in 1903 in order to conduct the Coleridge-Taylor Society of Washington, D.C. in a festival of his music. The society organized the festival chorus in association with the Treble Clef Club, of which Blanche Warrick Cardozo was a member. Harry T. Burleigh, who would distinguish himself as a black composer, was a member of that choir.

³Meta Warrick Fuller, "Samuel Coleridge-Taylor," (Typescript), Meta Fuller Papers.

⁴Boston Public Library, Exhibition of Sculpture by Meta Vaux Warrick-Fuller, May Seventeenth, Twentieth and Twenty-Second, 1914 (Boston, 1914).

⁵Meta Warrick Fuller to Freeman Murray, January 9 and 13, 1915, The Freeman Murray Papers. The Robert Morris Memorial was to be part of the association's "Periods in American History" series; "though a worthy enough character," Meta Warrick Fuller to Freeman Murray, January 26, 1915, Freeman Murray Papers.

⁶Meta Fuller Warrick to Freeman Murray, January 9, 1915; "always been partial to bronze," Ibid.; "hardly know what to do--if anything." Ibid.

⁷Ibid.

⁸Ibid.

⁹Ibid.

¹⁰Freeman H.M. Murray to Daniel Chester French, February 22, 1915, (Enclosure in Freeman Murray to Meta W. Fuller, March 11, 1915), Freeman Murray Papers.

¹¹Murray, Emancipation and the Freed, pp. 83-84.

¹²Jane Dillenger, "Between Faith and Doubt: Subjects for Meditation," in Vedder, Perceptions and Evocations: the Art of Elihu Vedder (Washington, D.C.: Published for the Collection of the Fine Arts by the Smithsonian Institution Press, 1979), pp. 124-125; Regina Soria, Elihu Vedder: American Visionary Artist in Rome (1836-1923) (Rutherford, Madison, Teaneck: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1970), p. 386; Elihu Vedder, The Digressions of V., Written for his own fun and that of his friends by Elihu Vedder, containing the quaint legends of his infancy, an account of his stay in Florence, the garden of lost opportunities, return home on the track of Columbus, his struggle in New York in War-time coinciding with that of the nation, his prolonged stay in Rome, and likewise his prattlings upon art, tamperings with literature, struggles with verse, and many other things, being a portrait of himself from youth to age, With many illustrations by the author (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1910), pp. 236 and 239.

¹³"The lips of the Sibyl are more compressed. . ." Murray, Emancipation and the Freed, p. 85; "one would scarcely surmise on looking at her. . ." Ibid., p. 86.

¹⁴Meta Warrick Fuller to Freeman Murray, January 26, 1915.

¹⁵Meta Warrick Fuller to Freeman Murray, February 8 and 17, 1915, Freeman Murray Papers. Meta was amused when the librarian who assisted her mistook her for sculptor Edmonia Lewis. "I don't know how he did

it," she reported, "he must have supposed E. had discovered the fountain of perpetual youth for she was certainly well-known before I was born."; "Art is not copying. . ." Ibid.

¹⁶Murray, Emancipation and the Freed, p. 86.

¹⁷Ibid., p. 87n.

¹⁸Crisis Magazine, X, 8 (August, 1915), 192; Murray, Emancipation and the Freed, p. 102.

¹⁹"It is difficult to view the facial features of this heroine . . .", Ibid., p. 103; "too much like 'puddings rolled to us in the dust." Ibid., p. 104.

²⁰"Rodin. . .made his 'old woman' as old and worn out as can be . . .", Meta Warrick Fuller to Freeman Murray, February 8, 1915.

²¹Freeman Murray to Meta W. Fuller, March 11, 1915; Meta Warrick Fuller to Freeman Murray, February 25, 1915, Freeman Murray Papers.

²²Meta Warrick Fuller to Freeman Murray, January 26, 1915.

²³Meta Warrick Fuller to Freeman Murray, February 8, 1915.

²⁴"I shall lose my maid again on Monday!! What shall I do?", Meta Warrick Fuller to Freeman Murray, February 17, 1915; Meta Warrick Fuller to Freeman Murray, February 8, 1915; Meta Warrick Fuller to Freeman Murray, January 9, 1915. Alice Ware Smith, who lived across the street from the Fullers, was the daughter of Edmund Asa Ware (1837-1885), the first president and the founder of Atlanta University (1869-1885). She was also the sister of Edward Ware, Atlanta University's president in 1915. [Interview with Dorothy Larned and Vera Hemmenway, November 19, 1978; Herbert Aptheker ed. The Correspondence of W.E.B. Du Bois Vol. II: Selections, 1934-1944 (Amherst, Massachusetts: University of Massachusetts Press, 1976), p. 13n.]; "a place where there are no children. . .", Meta Warrick Fuller to Freeman Murray, February 17, 1915.

²⁵Ibid.

²⁶Meta Warrick Fuller to Freeman Murray, March 29, 1915; Crisis Magazine, X, 4 (April, 1915), 284; Charles Flint Kellogg, N.A.A.C.P.: A History of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People Vol. I: (1909-1920) (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1967), p. 141. Biologist Ernest Just of Howard University was the Spingarn Medal's first recipient. Other nominees were Howard Drew, holder of the world's record for the one hundred yard dash; William Monroe Trotter, "the intrepid agitator"; Herman Perry, founder of the first black "old-line" life insurance company; poet William S. Braithwaite; R.R. Moton, Tuskegee Institute's president; essayist Isaac Fisher; and Cornelia Bowen, principal of the Mt. Meigs School in Alabama. There were thirty nominees in all.

²⁷Meta Warrick Fuller to Freeman Murray, March 29, 1915; Meta Warrick Fuller to Freeman Murray, Wednesday [January 13, 1915], Freeman Murray Papers. This case was Wall v Oyster, 1910, 36 App. D.C., 50. [Constance McLaughlin Green, The Secret City: A History of Race Relations in the Nation's Capital (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1967), pp. 299 and 301n.]; "stick to sculpture. . ." Meta Warrick Fuller to Freeman Murray, Wednesday [January 13, 1915]; "if it takes me to the end of my days. . .", Ibid.

²⁸Meta Warrick Fuller to Freeman Murray, April 5, 1915; Freeman Murray Papers; Meta Warrick Fuller to Freeman Murray, September 1, 1915, Freeman Murray Papers.

²⁹Meta Warrick Fuller, "The Relation of the Negro to American Art," The Fisk Herald XXXII, 7 (July, 1915), 14-15.

³⁰Meta Warrick Fuller to Freeman Murray, April 5, 1915.

³¹Ibid. Alfred B. Ellis was the author of two books on West Africa, The Tshi-Speaking People of the Gold Coast (1887) and A History of the Gold Coast of West Africa (1893). (Aptheker, ed. The Correspondence of W.E.B. Du Bois I: 185n.); Meta Warrick Fuller to Freeman Murray, September 1, 1915; Freeman Murray Papers. By May, Meta had decided not to send any sculpture to the Chicago World's Fair. Those who had requested it "seemed so unbusinesslike" that she "did not venture anything." Meta supposed that she would be criticized "for taking this attitude," but she simply could not "risk sending things" on which she placed "a value to have them lost or damaged with no redress just for the sake of having them seen."

³²Meta Warrick Fuller to Freeman Murray, April 5, 1915. The NAACP never reclaimed The Spirit of Emancipation for casting. One reason may have been the increasing scarcity of bronze for such a purpose during World War I. The statuary remained in the Fuller family until 1984, when Solomon Fuller, Jr., donated it to Boston's Afro-American Museum and the Museum of the National Center of Afro-American Artists.

³³Ibid.

³⁴" . . . as usual they don't seem to want the thing that I believe would be most desirable.", Meta Warrick Fuller to Freeman Murray, March 29, 1915; "half a mind to throw the thing up. . .", Meta Warrick Fuller to Freeman Murray, April 5, 1915.

³⁵Meta Warrick Fuller to Freeman Murray, July 9, 1915, Freeman Murray Papers.

³⁶Ibid.; Meta Warrick Fuller to Freeman Murray, September 1, 1915. Freeman Murray Papers.

Chapter XI: Sermons in Cauldrons of Bronze

¹Meta Warrick Fuller to Freeman Murray, September 1, 1915, Freeman Murray Papers; "it beautifully typifies the message of equal suffrage" quoted in Crisis XI, 1 (November, 1915), 7; "a thing of beauty and a message of truth. . . ." Ibid.

²Moses Rischin, ed., Immigration and the American Tradition (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1976), p. xxxv.

³"Eminent Citizens Join Patriotic Band," New York Times, Sunday, October 17, 1915, sec. 2, p. 1.

⁴Ibid.; "Immigrant in America, Again," New York Times, August 15, 1915, sec. 4, p. 22; "Patriotic Call to Artists," New York Times, sec. 2, p. 10; "to inspire both native-born and foreign-born citizens. . . ." Ibid.; "Americanization of Immigrants," The Outlook, December 15, 1915, p. 881.

⁵New York Times, Sunday, August 15, 1915, sec. 4, p. 22.

⁶Brawley, The Negro Genius, p. 188; Robert Haven Schauffler, Scum o' the Earth and Other Poems (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1912), pp. 3-7; Cora Kaplan, ed., Salt and Bitter and Good: Three Centuries of English and American Women Poets (New York: Paddington Press, 1975), p. 178; New York Times, Sunday, August 15, 1915, sec. 4, p. 22.

⁷"Americanization of Immigrants," pp. 881-882; Meta Warrick Fuller to Freeman Murray, January 31, 1916, Freeman Murray Papers.

⁸Dannett Transcript, p. 27; Meta Warrick Fuller to Freeman Murray, January 26, 1915, Freeman Murray Papers; Brawley, "Meta Warrick Fuller," 32.

⁹Abby Arthur Johnson and Ronald Johnson, Propaganda and Aesthetics: Literary Politics of Afro-American Magazines in the Twentieth Century (Amherst, Massachusetts: University of Massachusetts Press, 1979), p. 65; DANB s.v. "Pauline Elizabeth Hopkins," by Dorothy B. Porter.

¹⁰"The most authentic historian of the race's progress," "Editorial and Publisher's Announcements," New Era Magazine I (March, 1916), 60, quoted in Johnson and Johnson, Propaganda and Aesthetics, p. 66; "developing the literature, science, music, art, religion, facts, fictions and tradition. . . ." Ibid.; "We know that there are publications already in the field," "Editorial and Publisher's Announcements" New Era Magazine I (February, 1916), 3, 60, quoted in Johnson and Johnson, Propaganda and Aesthetics, p. 66; "a really new era in America," Ibid.

¹¹Meta Vaux Warrick-Fuller, "Helpful Suggestions to Young Artists," New Era Magazine I (February, 1916), 44-45.

¹²Ibid.

¹³Ibid.; Johnson and Johnson, Propaganda and Aesthetics, p. 67.

¹⁴Meta Warrick Fuller to Freeman Murray, January 31, 1916, Freeman Murray Papers; Interview with Wilhemina Crosson, Women's Service Club, Boston, Massachusetts, January 9, 1979; John Daniels, In Freedom's Birthplace: A Study of Boston Negroes (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1914), pp. 193-195.

¹⁵Meta Warrick Fuller to Freeman Murray, January 31, 1916; Meta's article on brush drawing, which appeared under the title, "Helpful Suggestions to Young Artists," was to be her last. New Era collapsed soon after its March issue.

¹⁶Interview with Margaret Cardozo Holmes and Elizabeth Cardozo Barker, October 11, 1978; Interview with Sue Bailey Thurman (Mrs. Howard Thurman), October 31, 1978.

¹⁷Meta Warrick Fuller to Joel E. Spingarn, June 29, 1916; W.E.B. Du Bois Collection, University of Massachusetts, Amherst; Charles Flint Kellogg, NAACP: A History of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Vol I (1909-1920) (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1967), pp. 87-88.

¹⁸Dannett Transcript, p. 24; Meta Warrick Fuller to Angelina Weld Grimké, May 25, 1917, Angelina Grimké Papers, Moorland-Spingarn Research Center, Howard University, Washington, D.C.; Dictionary of American Negro Biography sv. "Locke, Alain LeRoy," by Michael R. Winston.

¹⁹Meta Warrick Fuller to Angelina Weld Grimké, May 31, 1917, Angelina Grimké Papers.

²⁰Ibid.

²¹Mary Parker (Cambridge physician) to Meta Warrick Fuller, May 25, 1917, Angelina Grimké Papers; Framingham Evening News, June 6, 1917.

²²Ibid.

²³"The Waco Horror," Supplement to the Crisis XII (July, 1916), 1-8; Minnie Finch, The NAACP: Its Fight for Justice (Metuchen, N.J. and London: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 1981), p. 49; "Memphis," Crisis XIV, 3 (July, 1917), 133-135; "Memphis, May 22, A.D., 1917," Supplement to the Crisis XIV, 3 (July, 1917), 1-4; John Hope Franklin, From Slavery to Freedom, 3rd ed. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1967), p. 474; Herbert Aptheker, ed., A Documentary History of the Negro People in the United States, 3 vols. (Secaucus, N.Y.: The Citadel Press, 1951-1973) III: 184.

²⁴"to formulate plans whereby the citizens of New York. . ." Ibid., III: 181; "The Negro Silent Parade," Crisis, XIV (September, 1917), 241-244.

²⁵Meta Warrick Fuller to Grace Nail Johnson (Mrs. James Weldon Johnson), September 24, 1917, James Weldon Johnson Collection, Yale University; Interview with Sue Bailey Thurman, October 31, 1978.

²⁶"List of Photographs sent to Mount Vernon, N.Y. Exhibit" (1964), Meta Fuller Papers.

²⁷Kellogg, NAACP, p. 229.

²⁸Meta Warrick Fuller to Sylvia G.L. Dannett, April 15, 1964, Meta Fuller Papers, Livingstone College, Salisbury, N.C.

²⁹Ibid.

³⁰Leslie Fishel and Benjamin Quarles, The Negro American: A Documentary History (Glenview, Illinois: Scott Foresman and Company, 1967), p. 403; Finch, The NAACP, p. 55. According to Mary White Ovington, Shilladay was like a shell-shocked soldier after the Austin attack. Walter White explained that Shilladay, who was usually keenly efficient, became indecisive. Finally, he resigned from the NAACP in 1920 and James Weldon Johnson was elected to replace him.; Meta Warrick Fuller to W.E.B. Du Bois, April 30, 1919, Du Bois Collection.

³¹Du Bois-Fuller Correspondence, April 32-May 10, 1919, Du Bois Collection. The replica of Peace Halting the Ruthlessness of War, done in plaster, cost the Crisis thirty-five dollars, the price that the Caproni foundry had quoted Meta for the casting of two.; Brawley, The Negro Genius, p. 188; Hoover, "Meta Vaux Warrick Fuller," 681; Dannett Notes (Typescript), p. 43.

Chapter XII. "A Room of One's Own"

¹William E. Leutenburg, The Perils of Prosperity, 1914-1932 (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1958), pp. 66-84 passim. The terrorism of a handful of fanatic anarchists who attempted to assassinate a number of prominent individuals in April exacerbated this "Red Scare." Georgia Senator William Hardwick's maid was injured critically when a bomb concealed in a package meant for her employer exploded. Sixteen similar packages were discovered in the New York City post office, addressed to other notables such as John D. Rockefeller and Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr. Anarchists were more successful in setting off explosives in other cities. For the most part, the general public was incapable of distinguishing between socialists, communists, and anarchists. All seemed bent on the violent overthrow of democratic government and the free enterprise system.

²"America's Making, A Festival and Exhibit of Three Centuries of Immigrant Contributions to our National Life", Enclosure in Eugene Kinckle Jones, Chairman of the Executive Committee, to W.E.B. Du Bois, October 31, 1921, Du Bois Collection, University of Massachusetts Archives, Amherst, Massachusetts. The America's Making Festival was also announced in the New York Times on February 13.

³Dannett Transcript, p. 29; Meta Warrick Fuller to Mrs. W.E. Hedden, October 5, 1921, Meta Fuller Papers, Bourne, Massachusetts.

⁴Meta Warrick Fuller to Freeman Murray, January 9, 1915, Freeman Murray Papers; "O kinsmen! we must meet the common foe," from "If We Must Die" reprinted in Sterling A. Brown, Arthur P. Davis, and Ulysses Lee, ed. The Negro Caravan (New York: Arno Press and the New York Times, 1970), p. 350; "awakening gradually unwinding the bandages of his past," Meta Warrick Fuller to Mrs. W.P. Hedden, October 5, 1921.

⁵Gilbert Osofsky, Harlem: The Making of a Ghetto, Negro New York, 1980-1930, 2nd Ed. (New York: Harper and Row, 1971), p. 180: Brown et al., The Negro Caravan, p. 1074.

⁶James M. McPherson, Laurence B. Holland, James M. Banner, Jr., Nancy J. Weiss, and Michael D. Bell, Blacks in America, Bibliographical Essays. (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1971), p. 269; Meta Warrick Fuller to Mrs. W.P. Hedden, October 5, 1921. Meta's statement concerning the ease with which black artists could enter the nation's art schools seems to be born out by an examination of the biographies of artists who participated in the Harmon Foundation's art exhibitions. Her opinion concerning the ease with which a black person could embark on a career, however, was not shared by everyone. In 1926, Du Bois stated the case for those who disagreed eloquently in a speech delivered before the NAACP:

There is in New York tonight a black woman molding clay by herself in a little bare room, because there is not a single school of sculpture in New York where she is welcome. Surely there are doors she might burst through, but when God makes a sculptor He does not always make the pushing sort of person who beats his way through doors thrust in his face. This girl is working her hands off to get out of this country so that she can get some sort of training. . . .

There is a colored woman in Chicago who is a great musician. She thought she would like to study at Fontainebleau this summer where Walter Damroch and scores of leaders of Art have an American school of music. But the application blank of this school says: "I am a white American and I apply for admission to the school."

. . . I have in my office a story with all the earmarks of truth. A young man says that he started out to write and had his stories accepted. Then he began to write about the things he knew best about, that is, about his own people. He submitted a story to a magazine which said, "We are sorry, but

we cannot take it." I sat down and revised my story, changing the color of the characters and the locale and set it under an assumed name with a change of address and it was accepted by the same magazine that had refused it, the editor promising to take anything else I might send in providing it was good enough."

Thus, Du Bois concluded: "We have, to be sure, a few recognized and successful Negro artists; but they are not all those fit to survive or even a good minority. They are but the remnants of that ability and genius among us whom the accidents of education and opportunity have raised on the tidal waves of chance." Crisis, XXXII, 6(October, 1926), 294 and 296.

⁷"We are still on the job of getting over into the American consciousness the idea that in our cultural world the Negro is creator as well as creature. . ." James Weldon Johnson to Carl Van Vechten, March 6, 1927, James Weldon Johnson Collection, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut; "Democracy itself is obstructed to the extent that any of its channels are closed," Alain Leroy Locke, "The New Negro," quoted in Brown, Davis, and Lee, The Negro Caravan, p. 956.

⁸"School Board to Bar Books Slurring Negro, Colored Citizens Protest a Kipling Reader and 'Community Civics'" Boston Herald, March 31, 1922, pp. 1-2; Edward F. McSweeney, Chairman, Knights of Columbus Historical Commission, to the Boston School Committee, March 23, 1922, enclosure to G.M. Carey to W.E. Burghardt Du Bois, May 16, 1922, Du Bois Collection, University of Massachusetts, Amherst.

⁹Edward F. McSweeney to the Boston School Committee, March 23, 1922; Edward F. McSweeney to W.E. Burghardt Du Bois, May 10, 1922, Du Bois Collection, University of Massachusetts, Amherst; G.M. Carey to W.E.B. Du Bois, May 16, 1922.

In March, 1922, the Knights of Columbus Historical Commission supported black Bostonians in their confrontation with the school board over a Kipling reader used in the upper grades and Community Civics, a textbook by R.O. Hughes, a Pittsburg high school teacher. Both of these volumes, according to the complainants, contained passages demeaning racially. According to the Boston Herald, a story in which imperialist Kipling described a white officer's horse being held by a member of the governed races and then commented that it was "a good job for a 'nigger'" or words of similar import, deeply offended the black community. The community considered equally disturbing R.O. Hughes' statement that "it was the conviction of the people of the South that there should be no equality between the races" because the appearance of the Southern viewpoint in a text book gave it a degree of validity. Protective of the delicately balanced race relations in Boston, those testifying against Community Civics asserted that to discuss was to advocate and, in a Boston schoolbook, this was indefensible.

¹⁰Meta Warrick Fuller to W.E.B. Du Bois, May 2, 1922, Du Bois Collection, University of Massachusetts, Amherst; The Gift of Black Folk:

The Negro in the Making of America (Boston: Stratford Co., 1924); Museum of Modern Art, Treasures of Tutankhamun (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1976), p. 15. British archaeologist Howard Carter opened Tutankhamun's burial chamber on February 17, 1923; "being rated as the lowest on the scale of social development," Framingham News, February, 1923.

¹¹Who's Who in Colored America, 3rd ed. (New York: Who's Who in Colored America Corporation, 1927), s.v. "Meta Vaux Warrick."

¹²Dannett, Profiles of Negro Womanhood, II: 38.

¹³Ibid.; Interview with Dorothy Warrick Taylor, March 3, 1979.

¹⁴League of Women for Community Service, "Minutes", May 14, 1918, The Arthur and Elizabeth Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe College, Cambridge, Massachusetts; James, Edward T. et al. Notable American Women, 1607-1950. 3 vols. (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Belknap Press of Harvard University, 1971) s.v. "Maria Louise Baldwin"; "dignity, calmness and beautiful voice," Ibid.; Adelaide Hill Cromwell, "The Negro Upper Class in Boston," p. 246; League of Women for Community Service, "Minutes", October 24 and November 14, 1918.

¹⁵Dannett, Profiles, II: 39; "flair for symbolic sculpture. . ." Boston Sunday Herald, October 8, 1922, quoted in Dannett, Profiles, II: 39-40; Ovington, Portraits in Color, p. 224.

¹⁶Grave's Dictionary of Music and Musicians 5th ed. (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1954) s.v. "Henry (Franklyn Belknap) Gilbert; W.E.B. Du Bois-Meta Warrick Fuller Correspondence, January 9-11, 1925.

¹⁷Interview with Margaret Holmes and Elizabeth Barker, October 11, 1978; Interview with Solomon C. Fuller, Jr., October 12, 1978; "a memorial to the members of my family. . .", Meta Warrick Fuller to Sylvia G. L. Dannett, November 21, 1963, Sylvia G.L. Dannett Papers, Carnegie Library, Livingstone College, Salisbury, N.C.

¹⁸Holmes-Barker Interview, October 11, 1978; Ovington, Portraits in Color, p. 225; Dannett Transcript, pp. 32-33; Alumnae Records, Mount Holyoke College Archives.

¹⁹Interview with Dorothy Warrick Taylor, March 3, 1979; Holmes-Barker Interview, October 11, 1978; Solomon C. Fuller, Jr., Interview, October 12, 1978.

²⁰Newspaper Clipping, n.d., Sylvia G.L. Dannett Papers, Carnegie Library, Livingstone College, Salisbury, N.C. The architect of Meta's studio was probably George Marlowe, one of two in Framingham. Marlowe designed residences, while the other, Charles Baker, designed commercial buildings. Influenced by English architecture of the "Tudor" period, Marlowe specialized in "romantic" country houses. (Telephone interview

with Stephen Herring, President, Framingham Historical Society, October 30, 1985).

²¹Alain Leroy Locke to Meta Warrick Fuller, April 5, 1930, Meta Fuller Papers, Bourne, Massachusetts.

Chapter XIII. Renaissance

¹Newspaper Clipping, n.d., Dannett Papers, Carnegie Library, Livingstone College, Salisbury, N.C.

²Alain Leroy Locke to Meta Warrick Fuller, April 5, 1930; Hayden and Harris, Nine Black Doctors, p. 28; Ibid., pp. 21-22. Dr. Solomon C. Fuller, Sr., was a recognized pioneer in the study, diagnosis, and treatment of brain disease and behavioral disorders. His articles in medical texts and journals as well as his work as a member of the American Psychiatric Association, the Boston Society of Psychiatry and Neurology, the New York Psychiatric Association, American Medical Association, and the New England and Massachusetts Medical societies influenced the thinking and practice of most doctors in the mental health profession. Four black doctors whom Dr. Fuller trained in Neuropsychiatry became physicians at the Tuskegee, Alabama Veterans Administration Hospital. One of these, Dr. George Branch, became its Chief of Psychiatric Service. Dr. Fuller also trained Dr. Charles Pinderhughes of Boston who later became a professor of Psychiatry at Boston University and Coordinator of Residency Training at the Bedford (Massachusetts) Veterans Administration Hospital. (Fuller was one of the first psychiatrists to study shell-shock and battle fatigue. During World War I, he had served on Framingham's draft board.) Besides maintaining a large private practice and teaching at Boston University, Dr. Fuller was a visiting neurologist at Massachusetts Memorial Hospital, and a consultant at Massachusetts General Hospital, Framingham Marlboro Hospital, and the Allentown, Pennsylvania State Hospital. (Ibid., p. 26; Solomon C. Fuller, Jr., Interview, November 29, 1976; Cobb, "Solomon Carter Fuller," 370 and 371.)

³The Harmon Foundation, Exhibition of Fine Arts by American Negro Artists, January 3 to 15, 1929. (New York, 1929), n.p.; Meta Warrick Fuller to Miss Mary Beattie Brady, Director, William C. Harmon Foundation, December 31, 1930. Records of the William E. Harmon Foundation, Library of Congress; Evelyn S. Brown, "The Harmon Awards," Opportunity XI(March, 1933), 78.

⁴Solomon C. Fuller, Jr., Interview, November 29, 1976; Holmes-Barker Interview, October 11, 1978; Dictionary of American Negro Biography, s.v. "Evanti, Lillian [Madam Evanti, born Lillian Evans), by Raymond Lemieux. Born in Washington, D.C., Evanti was the daughter of Wilson Bruce Evans, M.D. (Howard University, 1891), the founder and first principal of Armstrong Technical High School and Anne Brooks Evans, a teacher of

music in the Washington public schools. In 1918, she married her teacher, Roy W. Tibbs, a professor of Music at Howard University (1914-1944). It was writer and friend Jessie Faucet who suggested Evanti's professional name, a contraction of Evans and Tibbs. Beginning in 1925, Lillian Evanti sang in France, Italy, England, Germany, The United States, Brazil, Argentina, Cuba, Haiti, the Dominican Republic, Liberia, Nigeria, and Ghana. Notable among her concerts of the 1920s were her appearance at Washington's Negro Lincoln Theatre on October 17, 1925, at which time she sang Lakmé, and her recital at New York City's International House, where she sang songs by Handel, Scarlatti, Rameau, and Bellini as well as Negro spirituals. Evanti won an ovation for her performance of Lakmé at Paris's Opera Trianon Lyrique in 1927. In 1930, she appeared in The Barber of Seville in Milan; Dictionary of American Negro Biography s.v. "Harry T. Burleigh," by Elton C. Fax; Holmes-Barker Interview, October 11, 1978. In 1921, Cardozo cousin Eslanda Cardozo Goode, married singer-actor Paul Robeson. Goode had encouraged Robeson into acting as a profession and later, became his personal manager. (cf. Dictionary of American Negro Biography, "Eslanda Cardozo Goode Robeson," by Rayford W. Logan.); Maurice Rheims, La Sculpture aux XIX^e Siecle (Paris: Arts et Metiers Graphique, 1972), p. 187; "He looks as if he would come. . ." Brawley, Negro Genius, p. 188.

⁵Merle Armitage, Martha Graham (Los Angeles: M. Armitage, 1937), p. 120. Graham first danced "Lamentation" in New York City at the Maxine Elliott Theatre of January 8-11, 1930; Ernestine Stodell, Deep Song, The Dance Story of Martha Graham (New York: Macmillan, Inc., 1984), p. 64. It is easy to understand what attracted Fuller to this particular Graham creation. According to Stodelle, "Lamentation" was "more sculptural than kenetic." She elaborated by saying that "at times the hooded figure appeared to be as square as a block of granite. Then with a convulsive twist and a low sweep of the upper body, head down, across the pelvic center, the dancer swung to a high diagonal line." It was this thrust that Meta depicted in her Martha Graham; Dannett, Profiles of Negro Womanhood, II: 40; Meta Warrick Fuller to Hannah Moriarta, Assistant for Harmon Awards, January 21, 1931, Records of the William E. Harmon Foundation, Library of Congress; "Community Play News: Some Interesting Side-lights in Connections with Hospital Benefit, 'By the Breadth of a Hair,' Dec 2 and 3," Framingham News, Wednesday, November 26, 1930, Enc. in Meta Warrick Fuller to Hannah Moriarta, January 21, 1931.

⁶Ibid.; Nomination Blank, William E. Harmon Awards for Distinguished Achievement Among Negroes, 1931, William E. Harmon Foundation Records, Library of Congress. Meta states that she had been an instructor for three years.; Newspaper Clipping, n.d., Enc. in Meta Warrick Fuller to Hannah Moriarta, January 21, 1931; "almost in tatters. . ." Larned-Hemmenway Interview, November 29, 1978.

⁷Framingham Evening News, December 2, 1930. The organizations participating in "By the Breadth of a Hair" were: the Frolikers, the Player's Club, the Jack-o-Lantern Players; the Civic League Plauers, Hadassah; Junior Hadassah, The American Legion, the Boy Scouts; the Rotary Club; the Rotary Club Boy's Band; the Choirsters; the DeMolay

Boys; members of the Framingham Hospital Board and the Hospital Aides; and the Civic League Orchestra,; Framingham News, November 26, 1930.

⁸The Three Wise Men appeared on the cover of the December issue of Crisis in 1921.

⁹The cross pommee, whose ends resemble the pommell of a pilgrim's staff, is also known as a Capuchin Cross because, according to the tenets of that religious order, men are bit pilgrims and strangers on earth. (cf. Websters Third New International Dictionary.) In 1981, Dorothy Larned gave her Christmas plaque, which was number one in the series, to the author as a gift; Telephone Interview with Solomon C. Fuller, Jr., December 4, 1985.

¹⁰Ibid.; Dannett Draft, p. 31b; "Statuary on Exhibition in 'The Studio' Attracts Visitors," Framingham Evening News, n.d. (December, 1937), Alumnae Records, Mount Holyoke College.

¹¹Mary Beattie Brady to Meta Warrick Fuller, December 8, 1930, Harmon Foundation Records, Library of Congress; Meta Warrick Fuller to Mary Beattie Brady, December 31, 1930; Hannah Moriarta to Meta Warrick Fuller, January 8, 1931, Harmon Foundation Records, Library of Congress.

¹²Harmon Foundation-Meta Warrick Fuller Correspondence, January 17-February 14, 1931, Harmon Foundation Records, Library of Congress; William E. Harmon Foundation, Exhibition of the Works of Negro Artists (New York, 1931), n.p. Fuller's cousin, Henry Bozeman Jones, a Philadelphia high school teacher writer, and painter, also exhibited works in 1931: Dream Time, Mrs. Potter, and Slim.

¹³Meta Warrick Fuller-Medallie Art Company Correspondence, October 24, 1932-May 2, 1933, Meta Fuller Papers, Bourne, Massachusetts; William J. Trent-Meta Warrick Fuller Correspondence, March 20-May 2, 1933. Meta Fuller Papers, Bourne, Massachusetts.

¹⁴Meta Warrick Fuller to Miss Evelyn Brown, Assistant Director, Harmon Foundation, March 29, 1935, Harmon Foundation Records, Library of Congress.

¹⁵Hayden and Harris, Nine Black Doctors, p. 21-22.

¹⁶Meta Warrick Fuller to Miss Evelyn Brown, March 29, 1935.

¹⁷Ibid., The Harmon Foundation, Exhibition of Works by Negro Artists, February 20 to March 4, 1933 (New York, 1933, n.p.

¹⁸Johnny Mercer and Hoky Carmichael, "Lazybones," (Southern Music Publishing Co., 1933). The song was introduced by Mildred Bailey, a singer of American Indian ancestry.

¹⁹Julian, The Symbolists, p. 107; Kirkland and Kirkland, Girls Who Became Artists, p. 57.

²⁰"Newspaper Clippings," Harriet Fuller Scrapbook, Collection of Mrs. William Thomas Fuller, Framingham, Massachusetts; Floyd Stovall, ed., The Poems of Edgar Allen Poe (Charlottesville, Virginia: University Press of Virginia, 1965), p. 213; Thomas Oliver Mabbott, ed., Collected Works of Edgar Allen Poe Vol. I: Poems (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Belknap Press of the Harvard University Press, 1969), pp. 171-177 passim.; Katz, The Complete Poems of Stephen Crane, p. 5.

²¹Meta Warrick Fuller to Evelyn Brown, March 29, 1935; Huggins, Harlem Renaissance, pp. 298-299; James Weldon Johnson, Black Manhattan (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1930: Reprint Ed. New York: Atheneum, 1968), p. 219; "the acting in Green Pastures seems so spontaneous. . ." Ibid.; "capacity to get the utmost subtleties across the footlights . . ." Ibid., p. 218.

²²Dictionary of American Negro Biography, "Richard B[erry] Harrison" by Anne Cooke Reid.

²³Boston Sunday Post, May 5, 1935, quoted in Dannett Profiles of Negro Womanhood, II: 45.

²⁴Meta Warrick Fuller to Evelyn Brown, March 29, 1935.

²⁵Ibid.

²⁶Interview with Sylvia G.L. Dannett, July 20, 1978, Scarsdale, N.Y.; Malvina Hoffman, Heads and Tales (New York: Charles Scribner and Sons, 1936), pp. 3, 58, 67, and 345; Robbins, "From the Nineties to the Thirties," pp. 121 and 123.

Malvina Hoffman was more successful than Meta Fuller for two major reasons. First, she was ready for the change in the "aesthetics of materials," which, according to Robbins, was the "cutting edge of self-conscious modernism in the United States," and in Europe, where sculptors "were struggling to escape the overwhelming affect of Rodin's personality." By 1929, Robbins says, "the greatest sin was to mix manners--to conceive a work in clay intending that it be pointed up into a large carved piece." Carving became the preferred technique. The "cardinal virtues of sculpture," said Agnes Ringe, "were monumentality and repose." Although Meta was capable of creating large sculptures, she was still modeling, then casting her sculptures in the manner of Rodin. On the other hand, while Malvina had been a student of Rodin (1910), she was truly a monumental sculptor with a knowledge of carving obtained through periods of study with such sculptors as Gutzon Borglum and Ivan Mestrovic. Secondly, Malvina Hoffman married but had no children; therefore, she was free to grow technically, and to travel wherever her work took her. Meta Fuller had chosen to marry and have children, making her more or less a prisoner of Warren Road.

²⁷Telephone Interview with Solomon C. Fuller, Jr., December 19, 1984; Ernest Cummings Mariner, The History of Colby College (Waterville, Maine: Colby College Press, 1963), p. 107.

²⁸Solomon C. Fuller, Jr., Interview, December 19, 1985.

²⁹Ibid.

³⁰"Sculpture Exhibition in 'The Studio' Attracts Visitors," Framingham Evening News, n.d. (December, 1937).

³¹Meta V. Warrick Fuller, "The Talking Skull," (Typescript), Harmon Foundation Collection, The National Archives, Washington, D.C.

³²Museum Boymans-Van Beuningen, Le Symbolisme en Europe, November, 1975-November, 1976 (Rotterdam, Holland: Musee Boymans-Van Beuningen, 1976), p. 63; In 1938 officials of the Garfield Intermediate School in Detroit, Michigan, requested one of Meta's sculptures for its library, on behalf of its students. Meta suggested The Talking Skull, a work which she believed "contained a useful lesson for all children, but the Garfield students (who had raised the purchase price) selected Water Boy instead. Meta Warrick Fuller to Mrs. Edith Cunningham, May 16, 1938, meta Warrick Fuller Papers, Bourne, Massachusetts, Charles A. Daley, Principal, Garfield Intermediate School to Mrs. Meta Warrick Fuller, December 12, 1938. Meta Warrick Fuller Papers, Bourne, Massachusetts.

Chapter XIV. Maelstrom

¹Fuller Journal, January 1, 1938. The majority of the entries range from January through March 1938. Then there are as few as a single entry for the years 1940, 1941, 1945, 1949, 1951, and 1952.

²"Freedom Proud Boston," Ebony Magazine, March, 1942, p. 15; Fuller Journal, March 17, 1938; Fred Mort Reed, Cowles Complete Encyclopedia of U.S. Coins (New York: Cowles Book Company, Inc., 1967), pp. 120-121; "Jefferson Nickel Design Selected," New York Times, April 21, 1938; Louise E. Haling, Secretary-Recorder, Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Department of Public Instruction, Cheyney Training School for Teachers, State Teachers College-Meta Warrick Fuller Correspondence, August 18-September 21, 1938, Meta Warrick Fuller Correspondence, Bourne, Massachusetts.

³Fuller Journal, March 17, 1938.

⁴Dannett, Profiles of Negro Womanhood, II: 40. Burke's portrait of Roosevelt was used for the dime in 1946.

⁵Claude A. Barnett, Exposition Art Committee, to Mrs. Meta Warrick Fuller, June 8, 1940. Meta Warrick Fuller Correspondence; Alonzo B. Aden, Tanner Art Gallery, American Negro Exposition to Mrs. Meta Warrick Fuller, [July, 1940], Meta Warrick Fuller Correspondence; Meta Warrick Fuller to Alonzo Aden, July 25, 1940, meta Warrick Fuller Correspondence; Frederick Aden-Meta Fuller Correspondence, September 6-10, 1940, Meta Warrick Fuller Correspondence; "I question by whose authority it was set aside. . ." Meta Fuller to Mr. Claude Barnett, September 16,

1940, Meta Warrick Fuller Correspondence; Frederick Aden to Mrs. Meta Warrick Fuller, September 19, 1940, Meta Warrick Fuller Correspondence.

⁶ Fuller Journal, March 17, 1941.

⁷ Fuller Journal, September 14, 1941.

⁸ Fuller Journal, December 4, 1942.

⁹ Interview with Solomon C. Fuller, Jr., December 18, 1985; Bourne, Massachusetts; "African Mask Maker: Brooklyn Artist Perry Fuller Successfully Produces and Sells Primitive Sculpture," Ebony Magazine, December, 1951, p. 72. Perry Fuller was technical advisor on the movie Eagle Squadron (1942) and Walt Disney Studio's Victory Through Air Power (1943).

¹⁰ Dannett Transcript, p. 33; Hayden and Harris, Nine Black Doctors, p. 28.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Fuller Journal, February 14, 1945; Esther P. Shaw to Meta Warrick Fuller, January 22, 1945, Meta Warrick Fuller Correspondence.

¹³ Esther P. Shaw to Meta Warrick Fuller, n.d. [1945], Meta Warrick Fuller Correspondence.

¹⁴ Esther P. Shaw to Meta Warrick Fuller, January 22, 1945.

¹⁵ Fuller Journal, February 14, 1945.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ "Mrs. H. was right when she said no one would do for him like you do." Esther P. Shaw to Mrs. Meta Warrick Fuller, March 13, 1945, Meta Warrick Fuller Correspondence.

¹⁸ Esther P. Shaw to Mrs. Meta Warrick Fuller, March 22, 1945, Meta Warrick Fuller Correspondence; "Bravo!--several times on your acquisition of a bit of 'sassiness'. . ." Esther P. Shaw to Meta Warrick Fuller, n.d. [1945], Meta Warrick Fuller Correspondence.

¹⁹ Esther Popel Shaw, "The Reception," Ms., Enclosure in Esther P. Shaw to Meta Warrick Fuller, July 6, 1945, Meta Warrick Fuller Correspondence.

²⁰ Telephone Interview with Solomon C. Fuller, Jr., March 7, 1986; Esther P. Shaw to Meta Warrick Fuller, March 22, 1946, Meta Warrick Fuller Correspondence.

²¹ Esther P. Shaw to Meta Warrick Fuller, August 29, 1945, Meta Warrick Fuller Correspondence; Esther P. Shaw to Meta Warrick Fuller, March 22, 1946.

²²Ibid.

²³Esther P. Shaw to Meta Warrick Fuller, n.d., Meta Warrick Fuller Correspondence; Meta Fuller to Sylvia G.L. Dannett, November 21, 1963, Sylvia Dannett Papers, Livingstone College, Salisbury, North Carolina.

²⁴Miss H.P. Flack, Dean of Women, Livingston College, to Meta Warrick Fuller, November 29, 1949, Meta Warrick Fuller Correspondence; Meta Warrick Fuller to Miss Flack, n.d. [c. November, 1949], Meta Warrick Fuller Correspondence.

²⁵Miss Hattie P. Flack, Livingstone College, to Mrs. Meta Warrick Fuller, February 13, 1930, Meta Warrick Fuller Correspondence.

²⁶Livingstone College News Release (typescript), Carnegie Library Archives, Livingston College, Salisbury, North Carolina; Livingstone College Alumni Bulletin, VI, 3 (May, 1930), 1-2.

²⁷Dictionary of American Negro Biography, s.v. "Meta Vaux Warrick Fuller," by Robert C. Hayden; Interview with Mrs. William Thomas Fuller (Harriet Fuller), November 20, 1976, Framingham, Massachusetts.

²⁸Fuller Journal, June 9, 1952.

²⁹Dannett Transcript, p. 33; Cobb, "Solomon Carter Fuller," 371.

Chapter XV. "The Oldest Sculptor of My Race"

¹Dannett Transcript, p. 34; "I was cold all the time. . . desperately cold." Ibid.

²Ibid.

³Meta Warrick Fuller to Sylvia Dannett, November 21, 1963, Sylvia Dannett Papers.

⁴Ibid.; Holmes-Barker Interview, October 11, 1978. Meta's illness might have been fatal except for the discovery and introduction, in 1952, of an important new drug, isoniazid, in the treatment of tuberculosis. [Encyclopaedia Britannica 1965 ed. s.v. "Tuberculosis."]

⁵Dannett Transcript, p. 35; Meta Vaux Warrick Fuller, "The Mystic Ring," [typescript], Meta Warrick Fuller Papers.

⁶Meta Vaux Warrick Fuller, "Resurrection," Meta Warrick Fuller Papers.

⁷Esther P. Shaw to Meta Warrick Fuller, August 1, 1954, Meta Warrick Fuller Papers.

⁸"I think I detect a wee bit of blueness in your card. . ." Ibid. Solomon Fuller and his first wife had three sons: John, David, and Robert. Grace Thompson had one daughter, Patricia, when she and Solomon married. Finally, Mark Warren Fuller, the youngest of these offspring, is Solomon and Grace's son.

⁹Meta Vaux Warrick Fuller, "The Day," [Typescript], Meta Warrick Fuller Papers.

¹⁰Meta Warrick Fuller to W.E.B. Du Bois, September 26, 1954, W.E.B. Du Bois Collection, University of Massachusetts Archives, Amherst, Massachusetts; Telephone Interview with Sue Bailey Thurman, March 25, 1986; Dannett Transcript, p. 35.

¹¹Ibid.; Interview with Dorothy Warrick Taylor, March 3, 1979.

¹²Meta Warrick Fuller to W.E.B. Du Bois, October 5, 1954, W.E.B. Du Bois Collection. There is no record of a response from Du Bois.

¹³Interview with Solomon C. Fuller, Jr., October 21, 1978.

¹⁴Dannett Transcript, p. 35.

¹⁵Interview with Wilhemina Crossen, January 9, 1979, Boston, Massachusetts; Meta Warrick Fuller to Sylvia Dannett, January 7, 1965, Sylvia Dannett Papers.

¹⁶Dannett Transcript, p. 36; Meta Warrick Fuller to Sylvia Dannett, January 7, 1965.

¹⁷Ibid.; Interview with Wilhemina Crossen, January 9, 1979.

¹⁸Ibid.

¹⁹Ibid.

²⁰Dannett Transcript, p. 45.

²¹C.E. Dean, Agricultural and Technical College, Greensboro, North Carolina to Meta Warrick Fuller, December 31, 1956, Meta Warrick Fuller Papers; Meta Warrick Fuller to Dr. C.E. Dean, January 5, 1957, Meta Warrick Fuller Papers; Meta Warrick Fuller to Dr. C.E. Dean, n.d. [c February, 1957], Meta Warrick Fuller Papers; Meta Warrick Fuller to Dr. C.E. Dean, Committee for Portrait of Dr. F.D. Bluford, n.d. [c March, 1957], Meta Warrick Fuller Papers.

²²Neil Singelair, "Sculptress, 80, at Work After Battle for Health," The Framingham News, [1958].

²³Dannett, Profiles of Negro Womanhood, II: 41; Interview with Sue Bailey Thurman, October 31, 1978; Guy McElroy, National Council of Afro-American Women to the Author, September 10, 1980.

²⁴"Mrs. Meta Warrick Fuller Honored at Howard University," Framingham News, Monday, April 3, 1961.

²⁵Telephone Interview with Sue Bailey Thurman, March 25, 1986.

²⁶Dannett Transcript, pp. 40-41; Framingham News, Tuesday, January 30, 1962.

²⁷Dannett Transcript, p. 39.

²⁸Dannett Transcript, pp. 41-42.

²⁹Dannett Transcript, p. 39; "North Carolina Honors for Mrs. Fuller," Framingham News, Friday, May 25, 1962.

³⁰Dannett Transcript, p. 42.

³¹Interview with Rev. Mason R. Wilson, November 3, 1978, Framingham, Massachusetts. After Meta's death the members of St. Andrew's established the Meta Fuller Prayer Shrine in a small alcove in the church. Rev. Wilson had encouraged them to do so because Meta had told him how much she missed her studio chapel where she spent long periods meditating, waiting for an inspiration, waiting to be guided toward something that she wanted to do. Therefore, Rev. Wilson said "I felt like Meta would love something like this and that of all the things that we could do in St. Andrew's to perpetuate her memory. . . having a prayer shrine would do it."

³²Dannett Transcript, p. 43; "Program Notes" St. Andrew's Episcopal Church, quoted by Solomon C. Fuller, Jr., November 29, 1976; Stephen B. Oates, Let the Trumpet Sound, The Life of Martin Luther King, Jr. (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1982), p. 267.

³³Telephone Interview with Velma Hoover, April 22, 1979; Oates, Let the Trumpet Sound, pp. 348-349; Dannett Transcript, p. 43.

³⁴Dannett, Profiles of Negro Womanhood, II: 44; Hoover, "Meta Vaux Warrick Fuller," 681; On December 5, 1964, the Boston Branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People presented Meta with a citation "in recognition of her rich and continuous contribution to the cause of Civil Rights and Human Freedom, through the art of sculpture, beginning with her History of the Negro in 1907 and continuing to date." ["Mrs. Meta Warrick Fuller Receives NAACP Citation," Framingham News, Monday, December 7, 1964.]

³⁵Meta Warrick Fuller to Sylvia Dannett, July 28, 1964, Sylvia Dannett Papers; Dannett, Profiles of Negro Womanhood, II: 45.

³⁶Meta Warrick Fuller to Sylvia Dannett, November 21, 1963; Sylvia Dannett Papers; Meta Warrick Fuller to Sylvia Dannett, July 28, 1964; Telephone Interview with Sue Bailey Thurman, March 25, 1986; "Framingham

Sculptress Is Honored at Boston's Harriet Tubman House," Suburban Free Press and Record, October 29, 1964.

³⁷Dannett, "Meta Vaux Warrick Fuller," (draft), p. 47, Sylvia Dannett Papers; Meta Fuller to Mr. Harry Belafonte, September 1, 1964, Meta Warrick Fuller Papers.

³⁸Suburban Free Press and Record, October 29, 1964.

³⁹Dannett, Profiles of Negro Womanhood, II: 42.

⁴⁰Meta Warrick Fuller to Sylvia Dannett, December 14, 1964, Sylvia Dannett Papers; Meta Warrick Fuller to Sylvia Dannett, January 7, 1965.

⁴¹Meta Warrick Fuller to Sylvia Dannett, March 12, 1965, Sylvia Dannett Papers.

⁴²Meta Warrick Fuller to Sylvia Dannett, April 3, 1965, Sylvia Dannett Papers.

⁴³Ibid.

⁴⁴Meta Warrick Fuller to Sylvia Dannett, May 3, 1965, Sylvia Dannett Papers.

⁴⁵Holmes-Barker Interview, October 11, 1978.

⁴⁶"Sculptress Gives Radcliffe Birthday Gift," The Herald (Boston), June 10, 1966, p. 24.

⁴⁷Ibid.

⁴⁸Ibid.

⁴⁹Meta also was allowed to leave Cushing Memorial for her ninetieth birthday party, which was held at St. Andrew's Church; Meta Warrick Fuller, "Departure," (typescript), 1964, Meta Warrick Fuller Papers.

⁵⁰Holmes-Barker Interview, October 11, 1978; "The Merrythought," by Margaret Johnson appeared in St. Nicholas Magazine in 1891. [cf. St. Nicholas Magazine XVIII,6 (April, 1891), 432-434.]; Faith Nichols, "For Margaret and Elizabeth: Meta Warrick Fuller", April 12, 1968, Courtesy of Mrs. Elizabeth Barker.

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4. The Wretched (View B). Photo: "A Negress Sculptor's Gruesome Art," Current Literature (January, 1908), 55.
5. Oedipus. Photo: O'Donnell, "Meta Vaux Warrick Fuller," 1143.
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7. The Dancing Girl. Photo: O'Donnell, "Meta Vaux Warrick Fuller," 1142.
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30. Three views of The Descent. Photo: The Author.
31. Meta Fuller working on Mary Turner. Photo: Harmon Foundation Records, Library of Congress.
32. Mary Turner, A Silent Protest Against Mob Violence. Photo: The Author.
33. The Spirit of Inspiration. Photo: Arthur Huff-Fauset, For Freedom: A Biographical Story of the American Negro. (Philadelphia: Franklin Publishing and Supply Company, 1928), p. 165.
34. Ethiopia Awakening. Photo: Lionel J.-M. Delevingne.
35. The Negro Poet (Maxwell Nicy Hayson). Photo: The Author.
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37. Moorfield Storey. Photo: Harmon Foundation Records, Library of Congress.
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55. Richard B. Harrison as "De Lawd" in Green Pastures. Photo: Anthony B. Locke.
57. Fragment of Julian Daniel Taylor reproduced as a tondo relief. Photo: The Author.
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61. Vanity, Scorn, and Disdain. Photo: Lionel J.-M. Delevingne.
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63. Rev. Howard and Sue (Bailey) Thurman Reliefs. Photo: Courtesy of Sue (Bailey) Thurman.

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67. Harriet Tubman. Photo: The Author.
68. Meta Fuller and Crusaders for Freedom. Photo: Courtesy of Mrs. William Thomas Fuller.
69. The Crucifixion. Photo: Lionel J.-M. Delevingne.
70. Storytime. Photo: The Author.

A P P E N D I X B

LIST OF SCULPTURE BY META WARRICK FULLER*

- HEAD OF THE MEDUSA. Clay, 1898. Whereabouts unknown. A disembodied head with hanging jaw, beads of gore and eyes staring from their sockets. Source: Brawley, "Meta Warrick Fuller," p. 25.
- GESTAR. Terra-cotta (?), 1898. Whereabouts unknown. Bas-relief fireplace panel depicting a balladeer in the snow. Source: O'Donnell, "Meta Vaux Warrick," p. 1142.
- SIGFRIED SLAYING THE DRAGON. Relief, 1898. Whereabouts unknown. Source: O'Donnell, "Meta Vaux Warrick," p. 1142.
- THE RHINE MAIDENS or DAUGHTERS OF THE RHINE. Relief, 1898. Whereabouts unknown. Source: O'Donnell, "Meta Vaux Warrick," p. 1142.
- BOB ACRES. A character from Richard Brinsley Sheridan's play, The Rivals. Gold-painted plaster, 1898. H. 20". Owned by Mrs. Dorothy Warrick Taylor, Germantown, Pa.
- CRUCIFIX OF CHRIST IN ANGUISH. 1898. Whereabouts unknown. Produced during Fuller's tenure at the Pennsylvania School of the Industrial Arts as proof of her proficiency in medal work. Source: Porter, Modern Negro Art, p. 77.
- PROCESSION OF THE ARTS AND CRAFTS. A bas-relief composed of thirty-seven medieval costumed figures. Terra-cotta (?), 1899. Whereabouts unknown. Source: "Dannett Transcript," p. 7.
- SECRET SORROW (SILENT SORROW OR MAN EATING HIS HEART). Clay, 1901. Destroyed in warehouse fire of 1910; later reproduced. Whereabouts unknown. Source: O'Donnell, "Meta Vaux Warrick," p. 1140.
- THE CLOUD (DESEPOIRE). A cloud composed of figures symbolizing suffering humanity. Plaster high relief, 1901. Destroyed in 1910 fire. Source: O'Donnell, "Meta Vaux Warrick," p. 1143.
- THE WRETCHED. A seven-figure group. Bronze, 1901. Whereabouts unknown. Source: O'Donnell, "Meta Vaux Warrick," p. 1140.
- OEDIPUS. Plaster, c. 1901. Destroyed in 1910 fire. Source: O'Donnell, "Meta Vaux Warrick," p. 1144.

*A work-in-progress.

JOHN. Bust, painted metal, c. 1901. H. 20". Inscribed: "John."
Collection of The Meta Warrick Fuller Legacy, Inc.

THE LAUGHING MAN. The protagonist of Victor Hugo novel of the same title. Destroyed in 1910 fire. Source: O'Donnell, "Meta Vaux Warrick," p. 1144.

THE BOUQUET. Whereabouts unknown. Source: O'Donnell, "Meta Vaux Warrick," p. 1144.

HEAD OF SYLVIA. c. 1901-1902. Destroyed accidentally. Source: O'Connell, "Meta Vaux Warrick," p. 1144.

FALSTAFF. c. 1901-1902. Whereabouts unknown. Source: O'Donnell, "Meta Vaux Warrick," p. 1145.

THE DANCING GIRL. Plaster figurine, c. 1901-1902. Donated to the Cleveland Museum of Art in 1918 by Loie Fuller. Deaccessed, 1946. Present location unknown. Source: O'Donnell, "Meta Vaux Warrick," 1142.

MAN WITH A THORN (IN HIS FOOT). c. 1901-1902. Destroyed in 1910 fire. Source: O'Donnell, "Meta Vaux Warrick," p. 1144.

THE WRESTLERS. Two figure group, c. 1901-1902. Destroyed in 1910 fire. Source: O'Donnell, "Meta Vaux Warrick," p. 1144.

SILENUS AND THE SATYRES. A group composed of the inebriated Silenus and an equally intoxicated satyre and faun. c. 1902. Destroyed in 1910 fire. Source: O'Donnell, "Meta Vaux Warrick," p. 1144.

WILD-FIRE (FEUX FOLLETS or CORPSE-CANDLES). c. 1901-1902. Destroyed in 1910 fire. Source: O'Donnell, "Meta Vaux Warrick," p. 1145; Oeuvres de Mlle Meta Warrick, Sculpteur, Expose a l'Art Nouveau Bing.

DEATH IN THE WIND. The Grim Reaper turned out-of-doors. c. 1901-1902. Destroyed in 1910 fire. Source: O'Donnell, "Meta Vaux Warrick," p. 1145.

MAN CARRYING THE DEAD BODY. Bronze, c. 1901-1902. Whereabouts unknown. Source: O'Donnell, "Meta Vaux Warrick," p. 1141.

PRIMITIVE MAN. c. 1901-1902. Destroyed in 1910 fire. Source: Oeuvres de Mlle Meta Warrick, Sculpteur.

PRIMITIVE WOMAN. c. 1901-1902. Whereabouts unknown. Source: Oeuvres de Mlle Meta Warrick, Sculpteur.

FEMALE DANCER. c. 1901-1902. Whereabouts unknown. Source: Oeuvres de Mlle Meta Warrick, Sculpteur.

"HEAD OF A MAN." c. 1901-1902. Whereabouts unknown. Source: Oeuvres de Mlle Meta Warrick, Sculpteur.

"ORIENTAL DANCER." c. 1901-1902. Destroyed in 1910 fire. Source: Oeuvres de Mlle Meta Warrick, Sculpteur.

"THE SPHINX." Clay sketch, 1902. Whereabouts unknown. Source: Oeuvres de Mlle Meta Warrick, Sculpteur.

THE IMPENITENT THIEF. Life-size figure of the thief on the cross. Plaster, 1902. The head of this figure was saved by a friend in Parris. Present whereabouts unknown. Source: O'Donnell, "Meta Vaux Warrick," p. 1144.

A BRITTANY PEASANT. A woman dressed in a linen cap, a shawl, and over-sized, wooden shoes, with a basket balanced on her hip. Destroyed in 1910 fire. Polychrome plaster, 1903. Collection of The Meta Warrick Fuller Legacy, Inc. Reproduced c. 1913-1914.

THE SCANDALMONGER. Clay, 1903. Destroyed by the artist. Source: O'Donnell, "Meta Vaux Warrick," p. 1145.

THREE GRAY WOMEN. Heads representing Perseus' Graeas. c. 1903. Two heads destroyed in 1910 fire. Location of the third is unknown. Source: Brawley, "Meta Warrick Fuller," 26.

PORTRAIT OF THE LATE WILLIAM STILL (1821-1902). c. 1903. Whereabouts unknown. Source: Brawley, "Meta Warrick Fuller," 26.

MULATTO CHILD. c. 1904-1906. Destroyed in 1910 fire. Source: Brawley, "Meta Warrick Fuller," 26.

THE COMEDIAN (George W. Walker, 1873-1911). Figurine, c. 1906. Destroyed in 1910 fire. Source: Brawley, "Meta Warrick Fuller," 26.

"STUDY OF EXPRESSION." c. 1904-1906. Whereabouts unknown. Source: Brawley, "Meta Warrick Fuller," 27.

THE SCHOOLBOY. c. 1904-1906. Destroyed, 1910 fire. Source: Brawley, "Meta Warrick Fuller," 26.

THE OLD WOMAN. c. 1904-1906. Destroyed in 1910 fire. Source: Brawley, "Meta Warrick Fuller," 26.

THE TWO-STEP. c. 1904-1906. Destroyed in 1910 fire. Source: Brawley, "Meta Warrick Fuller," 26.

PORTRAIT OF WILLIAM THOMAS. c. 1905. Destroyed in 1910 fire. Source: Brawley, "Meta Warrick Fuller," 26.

- SELF-PORTRAIT FROM MIRRORS. Plaster, 1905. Destroyed in 1910 fire. Source: O'Donnell, "Meta Vaux Warrick," 1139; Brawley, "Meta Warrick Fuller," 26. Listed as The Artist.
- THE WARRICK TABLEAUX. 1907. Prepared for the Jamestown Tercentennial Exposition. Whereabouts unknown. Source: Jackson and Davis, Industrial History of the Negro, pp. 18, 24, 28, 34, 55, 64, 69, 73, 75, 82, 85, 90, 95, and 103.
- PAUL LAURENCE DUNBAR (1872-1906). Bust, 1906-1908. Whereabouts unknown. Source: O'Donnell, "Meta Vaux Warrick," p. 1140.
- PEEPING TOM OF CONVENTRY. 1908. Destroyed in 1910 fire. Source: Brawley, "Meta Warrick Fuller," 26.
- THE FOUR SEASONS. Bas-relief fireplace panel. Terra-cotta, 1908. Owned by Mrs. Ronald West, Framingham, Massachusetts.
- THE SPIRIT OF EMANCIPATION. Three figure group, plaster, 1913. H. 7'. Created for New York State's celebration of the Emancipation Proclamation's fiftieth anniversary. Collection of the Boston Museum of Afro-American Art and Artists.
- MENELIK II OF ABYSSINIA (1844-1913). Relief, plaster, exhibited in 1914. H. 16", W. 12". Inscribed: Menelik II King of Kings of Ethiopia Emperor of Abyssinia MDCCCXLIV-MCMXIII. Collection of The Meta Warrick Fuller Legacy, Inc.
- MENELIK II OF ABYSSINIA. Statuette, exhibited in 1914. Whereabouts unknown. Source: Exhibition of Sculpture by Meta Vaux Warrick-Fuller, May Seventeenth, Twentieth and Twenty-Second, 1914.
- SAMUEL COLERIDGE-TAYLOR (1875-1912). Statuette, exhibited in 1914. Whereabouts unknown. Source: Exhibition of Sculpture by Meta Warrick-Fuller (1914).
- SAMUEL COLERIDGE-TAYLOR. Relief, exhibited in 1914. Whereabouts unknown. Source: Exhibition of Sculpture by Meta Warrick-Fuller (1914).
- THE PIANIST (MAUD CUNEY-HARE, 1874-1936). Painted Plaster, exhibited in 1914. H. 17". Owned by Radcliffe College.
- MAUD (MAUD CUNEY-HARE). Bust, plaster, c. 1914. H. 10". Meta Warrick Fuller Legacy, Inc.
- MEDALLION PORTRAIT OF DR. A. E. P. ROCKWELL. Plaster, exhibited in 1914. Collection of The Meta Warrick Fuller Legacy, Inc.
- DR. SOLOMON C. FULLER (1872-1953). Bust, bronze, 1914. H. 20". Signed: MVWF. Located at the Solomon C. Fuller Mental Health Center, Boston University; Collection of The Meta Warrick Fuller Legacy, Inc.

- MEDALLION PORTRAIT OF DR. SOLOMON C. FULLER. Painted plaster, 1914. D. 4". Collection for the Meta Warrick Fuller Legacy, Inc.; Mrs. Dorothy Warrick Taylor, Germantown, Pennsylvania.
- MEDALLION PORTRAIT OF TOMMY FULLER. Plaster, 1913-1914. Collection of The Meta Warrick Fuller Legacy, Inc.
- THE BOY SOLOMON (SOLOMON C. FULLER, JR.). Plaster, 1913-1914. Collection of The Meta Warrick Fuller Legacy, Inc.
- "SO-BIG." Statuette depicting Solomon, Jr. making a snowman. H. 4". Owned by Robert Fuller, Natick, Massachusetts.
- THE BEGGAR BOY. Bust, painted plaster, 1914. H. 12". Modelled after Solomon Fuller, Jr. Collection of The Meta Warrick Fuller Legacy.
- "A DRINK PLEASE." Statuette, exhibited in 1914. Portrayal of second son, William Thomas Fuller. Whereabouts unknown. Source: Exhibition of Sculpture by Meta Vaux Warrick-Fuller, May Seventeenth, Twentieth and Twenty-Second, 1914.
- A YOUNG EQUESTRIAN. William Thomas Fuller on a pony. 1913-1914. Source: Brawley, "Meta Warrick Fuller," 27.
- MOTHER AND BABY. Plaster, 1913-1914. H. 12½". Signed: MVWF. Collection of the Danforth Museum, Framingham, Massachusetts.
- ADULATION. Mother hugging her child whom she holds on her lap. Painted plaster, exhibited in 1914. H. 8". Collection of the Meta Warrick Fuller Legacy, Inc.
- A CLASSIC DANCER. Statuette representing Isadora Duncan. Plaster, c. 1914. H. 7½". Productions owned by Mrs. Ronald West, Framingham, Massachusetts; Mrs. Dorothy Warrick Taylor, Germantown, Pennsylvania; The Meta Warrick Fuller Legacy, Inc.
- DANSE MACABRE. A group of female dancers with outstretched arms and billowing skirts. c. 1914. H. 12". Collection of Solomon C. Fuller, Bourne, Massachusetts.
- VEILED FUTURE. Silver and gold painted plaster, 1913-1915. H. 26". Collection of The Meta Warrick Fuller Legacy, Inc.
- "STUDY OF A WOMAN." Exhibited in 1914. Whereabouts unknown. Source: Brawley, "Meta Warrick Fuller," 27.
- "STUDY OF A WOMAN'S HEAD." (Dorothy Priest?) Painted plaster, 1915. H. 16½". Signed: Meta Warrick Fuller, 1915. Collection of The Meta Warrick Fuller Legacy, Inc.

- EQUAL SUFFRAGE MEDALLION. Painted plaster, 1915. Diameter: 8½". Inscribed: "Each unto each the rounded compliment." Owned by Miss Dorothy Larned, Winchester, Massachusetts.
- THE IMMIGRANT IN AMERICA. A group in which America, depicted as a mother of a healthy daughter, welcomes a refugee and her two children. Plaster, 1915. Inscribed: "Children in whose frail arms shall rest Prophets and singers and saints of the West." Signed: MVWF. Whereabouts unknown. Source: Brawley, "Meta Warrick Fuller," 31.
- BOOKER T. WASHINGTON (1856-1915). Relief, c. 1915-1916. Inscribed: Booker T. Washington. Whereabouts unknown. The intaglio for this relief is in the collection of The Meta Warrick Fuller Legacy, Inc.
- PEACE HALTING THE RUTHLESSNESS OF WAR. Plaster group, 1917. H. 14", W. 9¼", D. 17½". Collection of The Meta Warrick Fuller Legacy, Inc.
- THE DESCENT. Group depicting the aftermath of a lynching. Plaster, c. 1917. Whereabouts unknown. Photographs of this sculpture are owned by Mr. Robert Fuller, Natick, Massachusetts.
- BABY PERRY. Bust, c. 1918. The Meta Warrick Fuller Legacy, Inc.
- MARY TURNER. Statuette, painted plaster, 1919. H. 15". Inscribed: "To Mary Turner as a Silent Protest Against Mob Violence." Collection of the Museum of Afro-American History, Boston, Massachusetts.
- THE SILENT APPEAL. c. 1918. Whereabouts unknown. Source: Brawley, "Meta Warrick Fuller," 31.
- WATCHING FOR THE DAWN. c. 1918. Whereabouts unknown. Source: Brawley, "Meta Warrick Fuller," 28.
- THE FLOWER-HOLDER. c. 1918. Whereabouts unknown. Source: Brawley, "Meta Warrick Fuller," 28.
- THE FOUNTAIN BOY. c. 1918. Whereabouts unknown. Source: Brawley, "Meta Warrick Fuller," 28.
- LIFE IN QUEST OF PEACE. c. 1918. Whereabouts unknown. Source: Brawley, "Meta Warrick Fuller," 28.
- INSPIRATION URGING NEGRO YOUTH. High relief, plaster, 1919. Created for the Negro YMCA of Atlanta, Georgia. Whereabouts unknown. Source: Arthur H. Faucet, For Freedom, p. 165.
- ALLA NAZIMOVA (). Statuette, painted plaster, c. 1914-1920. H. 9½". Collection of The Meta Warrick Fuller Legacy, Inc.

ADORATION. Mother and standing child. Painted plaster, 1914-1920. H. 8". Collection of The Meta Warrick Fuller Legacy, Inc.

THE THREE SHEPHERDS. Bas-relief, polychrome plaster, 1921. H. 13", W. 15". Inscribed: Adeste Fidelis. Collection of The Meta Warrick Fuller, Legacy, Inc.

MADONNA. Circular bas-relief, polychrome plaster, 1921. Diameter: 16". Inscribed: Exaltate Dominum. Collection of The Meta Warrick Fuller Legacy, Inc;

THE THREE WISE MEN. Bas-relief, polychrome plaster, 1921. H. 13", W. 15". Inscribed: Te Adoremus Domina. Collection of The Meta Warrick Fuller Legacy, Inc.

ETHIOPIA AWAKENING. Bronze 1915-1921. H. 66". Signed MVWF. The Schomburg Collection, New York Public Library. Thirteen and a quarter inch reproductions owned by The James Weldon Johnson Collection, Beineke Library, Yale University, Collection of The Meta Warrick Fuller Legacy, Inc.; Mrs. Dorothy Warrick Taylor, Germantown, Pennsylvania.

A GRANDMOTHER (MARGARET WARREN JONES). Bronze, exhibited in 1922. H. 7½", W. 7", D. 5". Owned by Mrs. Agatha Jones Lawson, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. There is a plaster model in the collection of The Meta Warrick Fuller Legacy, Inc.

PORTRAIT OF MOORFIELD STOREY (1845-1929). Relief, 1925. Inscribed: "We ask only the Rights of Every American Citizen." Collection of Moorfield Storey.

DORIS. Bust, painted plaster, 1925. H. 24". Collection of Solomon C. Fuller. Source: Photograph at the Moorland-Spingarn Research Center, Howard University, Washington, D.C.

COMPOSER HENRY GILBERT (1868-1928). Bust, wax, c. 1928. H. 17½". Collection of Solomon C. Fuller, Bourne, Massachusetts.

THE NEGRO POET. Bust, painted plaster, n.d. H. 12". Collection of Solomon C. Fuller, Bourne, Massachusetts.

WATERBOY. Leaning figure, bronze, 1930. H. 12½". Harmon Foundation Collection, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

WATERBOY. Upright figures, painted plaster, 1930. H. 13½". Collection of The Meta Warrick Fuller Legacy, Inc.

MARTHA GRAHAM. Painted plaster, 1930. H. 4½". Collection of the Meta Warrick Fuller Legacy, Inc.

THE BIRD PRINCESS. Painted plaster, 1930. H. 23". Collection of the Meta Warrick Fuller Legacy, Inc.

- DARK HERO. Bust, 1930. Harmon Foundation Collection, National Archives, Washington, D.C.
- BACCHANTE. Statuette, painted plaster, 1931. H. 13". Collection of The Meta Warrick Fuller Legacy, Inc.
- BACCHANTE HEAD. Painted plaster, 1931. H. 16". Collection of The Meta Warrick Fuller Legacy, Inc.
- WORLD WAR I MEMORIAL TABLET. Painted plaster, 1931. H. 30½", W. 20½". St. Andrew's Episcopal Church, Framingham, Massachusetts.
- WILLIAM MONROE TROTTER (1872-1934). Relief, exhibited in 1930. Whereabouts unknown. Source: The Harmon Foundation, Exhibition of Works by Negro Artists, February 20 to March 4, 1933.
- LAZYBONES I. Seated figure with hat, elbow resting on its knee. Painted plaster, c. 1933. H. 7½". Collection of Mrs. Elizabeth Cardozo Barker.
- LAZYBONES II. Seated sleeping figure, leaning to the left. Painted plaster, c. 1933. H. 7½". Collection of The Meta Warrick Fuller Legacy, Inc.
- SILENCE. Bookends. Shrouded head with eyes cast downward. Painted plaster, 1934. H. 7", 2. 4½", D. 5". Collection of The Meta Warrick Fuller Legacy, Inc.
- REPOSE. Bookend. Shrouded head in reclining position with eyes wide open. Painted plaster, 1934. H. 7", W. 4½", D. 5". Collection of The Meta Warrick Fuller Legacy, Inc.
- ANGEL ISRAFEL. Bust, painted plaster, 1934. H. 18". Collection of The Meta Warrick Fuller Legacy, Inc.
- RICHARD B. HARRISON AS "DE LAWD" IN GREEN PASTURES. Statuette, painted plaster, 1935. Howard University, Washington, D.C.
- "EXODUS". Group commemorating Southern Negro migration to the North after World War I. Plaster, 1935-. Whereabouts unknown. Source: Meta Warrick Fuller to Evelyn Brown, March 29, 1935.
- HENRY DENNISON. Relief, 1935. Owned by Mary Dennison estate.
- JULIAN DANIEL TAYLOR. Relief, bronze, 1935. H. 24", W. 18". Commissioned by Colby College, Waterville, Maine. Whereabouts unknown. Reproduced as 11½" tondo relief. Inscribed: Juliani Danielis Taylor LL.D. Collection of Solomon C. Fuller, Bourne, Massachusetts.

AMELIA EARHART (1898-1937). Relief, plaster, 1937. Inscribed: Amelia.
Signed: MVWF. Collection of The Meta Warrick Fuller Legacy, Inc.

CRUCIFIX. Plaster, 1937. Modelled in the old Spanish style. Whereabouts unknown. Source: Framingham News, December, 1937.

MADONNA OF THE CROSS. Polychromed plaster, 1937. A kneeling figure of the Madonna bending toward the Holy Child whose attitude suggests the cross. Collection of The Meta Warrick Fuller Legacy, Inc.

THE TALKING SKULL. Bronze, 1937. H. 28", W. 40", D. 15½". Museum of Afro-American History, Boston, Massachusetts.

SWING ALONG CHILLUN. Plaster. Whereabouts unknown.

MARGARET (MARGARET CARDOZO HOLMES). Painted plaster. H. 16". Owned by Mrs. Margaret C. Holmes, Columbia, Maryland.

WILLIAM TRENT. Relief, bronze, 1950. Signed: Meta Warrick Fuller. Carnegie Library, Livingstone College, Salisbury, North Carolina.

"HOWARD THURMAN." Bust, clay, c. 1954. H. 8". Collection of The Meta Warrick Fuller Legacy, Inc.

VOICE OF THE CELLO. Statuette, plaster, 1954. Owned by Solomon C. Fuller, Bourne, Massachusetts.

THE GOOD SHEPHERD. Relief, polychromed plaster, 1954. H. 16". Inscribed: "The Good Shepherd Knoweth His Sheep." Collection of The Meta Warrick Fuller Legacy, Inc.

"THE SLAVE SHIP." Group of nude figures pressed together. Wax, 1954. H. 6". Whereabouts unknown. Source: Meta Warrick Fuller to W.E.B. Du Bois, September 26, 1954.

CHARLOTTE HAWKINS BROWN (1883-1961). Bust, painted plaster, 1956. Destroyed by fire.

SUE BAILEY THURMAN. Medallion, silver, 1957. Signed: MVWF. Owned by Mrs. Sue Bailey Thurman, San Francisco, California.

REV. HOWARD THURMAN. Medallion, silver, 1957. Inscribed: 1932-1957. Signed: MVWF. Owned by Mrs. Sue Bailey Thurman.

"SUE THURMAN." Bust, clay sketch. The Meta Warrick Fuller Legacy, Inc.

MODERN GIRL. Bust, plaster, 1957. H. 16". Solomon C. Fuller, Bourne, Massachusetts.

TEN OUTSTANDING NEGRO WOMEN. Heads and hands for dolls commissioned by the National Council of Negro Women, Washington, D.C. Spelman College also owns a set of the Fuller dolls.

MADONNA OF CONSOLATION. Statuette with niche. Painted plaster, 1961. H. 14½". Boston University School of Theology; Collection of Solomon C. Fuller.

MADONNA OF THE EMPTY ARMS. Statuette with niche. Painted plaster, c. 1961. H. 14½". Collection of Solomon C. Fuller.

"DR. SOLOMON C. FULLER MEMORIAL PLAQUE." Relief, 1962. Diameter: 6". Collection of Miss Dorothy Larned, Winchester, Massachusetts.

DR. SOLOMON C. FULLER MEMORIAL PLAQUE. Bronze, 1962. Diameter: 18". Framingham Memorial Hospital.

THE DYING SWAN. Statuette, plaster, 1962. A woman who listens as she hears the dying swan's song. Whereabouts unknown.

HARRIET TUBMAN (c. 1821-1913). Relief, painted plaster, c. 1962. H. 14½", W. 10". Collection of David Fuller.

FREDERICK DOUGLASS (1817-1895). Relief, painted plaster, c. 1962. H. 14½", W. 10". Collection of David Fuller.

SOJOURNER TRUTH (1797?-1883). Relief, painted plaster, c. 1962. H. 14½", W. 10". Collection of Robert Fuller.

CRUSADERS FOR FREEDOM. Relief, bronze, 1962. Inscribed: "Crusaders for Freedom--Sojourner Truth, Frederick Douglass, Harriet Tubman." Bishop W. J. Wall Heritage House, Livingstone College, Salisbury, North Carolina.

THE CRUCIFIXION. Statuette, bronze, 1963. H. 13½". St. Andrew's Episcopal Church, Framingham, Massachusetts.

THE GOOD SAMARITAN. Relief, polychromed plaster, 1964. H. 12", W. 12". St. Andrew's Episcopal Church, Framingham, Massachusetts.

PORTRAIT OF JOHN MERRIAM. Relief, 1964. Collection of The Meta War-rick Fuller Legacy, Inc.

THE REFUGEE AGAINST THE WIND. Statuette, painted plaster, 1964. H. 8½". Collection of Mrs. Sylvia G. L. Dannett, Scarsdale, New York.

THE PRAYING MADONNA. Statuette, painted plaster, c. 1964. Donated to Harriet Tubman House, Boston; Whereabouts unknown.

- STORYTIME. Bronze, 1964. h. $11\frac{1}{2}$ ", W. $8\frac{1}{4}$ ", D. $7\frac{1}{2}$ ". Framingham Public Library; Mrs. Sylvia G. L. Dannett. Plaster model: The Meta Warrick Fuller Legacy, Inc.
- PEGASUS. Garden sculpture, 1965. Whereabouts unknown.
- OLIVE THURMAN. 1965. Whereabouts unknown.
- THE WATER SPRITE. Garden sculpture, painted plaster, 1965(?). H. 6". Collection of Solomon C. Fuller.
- THE WOODLAND SPRITE. Garden sculpture, 1965. Whereabouts unknown.
- BOY WITH A THORN IN HIS FOOT. Bronze. H. 6". Collection of Mrs. Sylvia G. L. Dannette, Scarsdale, New York.
- VANITY. Bust, painted plaster. H. $12\frac{1}{2}$ ". Collection of The Meta Warrick Fuller Legacy, Inc.
- SCORN. Bust, painted plaster. H. $12\frac{1}{2}$ ". Collection of The Meta Warrick Fuller Legacy, Inc.
- DISDAIN. Bust, painted plaster. H. $12\frac{1}{2}$ ". Collection of The Meta Warrick Fuller Legacy, Inc.
- "SEE NO EVIL, HEAR NO EVIL, SPEAK NO EVIL." Bookends, painted plaster. H. 8", W. $4\frac{1}{2}$ ", D. 5". Collection of The Meta Warrick Fuller Legacy, Inc.
- ROSA MYSTICA. Statuette, painted plaster. H. 9". The Meta Warrick Fuller Legacy, Inc.
- WEeping WOMEN (a.k.a. TWO MARYS). Bookends, painted plaster. H. 6", w. 4", D. 3". The Meta Warrick Fuller Legacy, Inc.
- PHILLIS WHEATLEY. Oval relief, painted plaster. H. 8", W. $6\frac{1}{4}$ ". Done after Scipio Morehead portrait. The Meta Warrick Fuller Legacy, Inc.; Collection of Dorothy Warrick Taylor, Germantown, Pennsylvania.
- INFANT AT THE WATER. Statuette. H. 4". Source: "Fuller Sculpture Inventory," Meta Warrick Fuller Legacy, Inc.
- SAINT FRANCIS. Statuette, plaster, H. 5". Source: "Fuller Sculpture Inventory," Meta Warrick Fuller Legacy, Inc.
- MODERN MYSTIC. Bust, wax. H. 16". Collection of Solomon C. Fuller.
- PAIRMANE FAMILY. (EQUAL SUFFRAGE MEDALLION?). Relief. "Fuller Sculpture Inventory," The Meta Warrick Fuller Legacy, Inc.

MRS. GREEN. Circular relief, plaster. Museum of Afro-American History, Boston.

WOMAN AGAINST BACKDROP. Statuette, painted plaster. H. 10", W. 6½", D. 4". Collection of Robert Fuller.

"BLACK MADONNA." Statuette, painted plaster. Collection of The Meta Warrick Fuller Legacy, Inc.

MADONNA. Circular relief, painted plaster. Inscribed: "Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus, Dominus, Deus, Sabbath." Museum of Afro-American History, Boston.

JESUS, MARY, AND JOSEPH. Relief, wax. H. 6", W. 10". "Fuller Sculpture Inventory," The Meta Warrick Fuller Legacy, Inc.

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